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GRAECO-ARABICA



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NOTE

The Fourth volume of *Graeco-Arabica* contains most of the papers delivered at the Second and Third International Congresses on Graeco-Arabic Studies in Delphi, 1985, and in Athens, 1988.

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The following volumes 5 and 6 of *Graeco-Arabica* will include the rest of the papers of the second and third conferences and mainly those of the Fourth International Congress on Greek-Oriental and African Studies (July, 1991).

A reorganization of the Advisory Board will be announced in the fifth volume.

THE EDITOR

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS
ON
GRAECO-ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES
July 18-21 1991
DELPHI

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THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON GRAECO-ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

(July 18-21 1991)

The Fourth International Congress on Graeco-Oriental and African Studies will be held in Delphi on July 18-21, 1991.

Fifty scholars from about seventeen countries will participate in it. The main topics of the congress are the following:

1. Land and Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Middle Ages.

2. Greek Cultural Presence in North Africa, the Gulf Area and the Far East.

3. Graeco-Oriental Novels.

4. A limited number of Greek-Arabic and Oriental topics.

There will be a round table discussion on the Nobel laureate poet Mahfuz.

Bilan des travaux consacrés depuis 1970 au Périple anonyme de la mer Erythrée

En 1970, W. Raunig proposait un bilan des études consacrées à la datation du *Périple* anonyme *de la mer Erythrée,* ce précieux manuel de la navigation et du commerce en mer Rouge et dans l'océan Indien qui nous a été transmis par le seul *Codex Palatinus Graecus 398* de Heidelberg (auquel il faut ajouter un apographe)[1], si bien qu'on ne peut espérer apporter que des améliorations assez modestes à l'excellente édition de H. Frisk[2] parue en 1927.

On comprend facilement que W. Raunig ait centré son *Bericht* sur le problème de la datation d'un ouvrage antique qui, en évoquant nombre de royaumes riverains de l'océan Indien et de ses appendices, offre au lecteur un véritable panorama politico-économique d'une grande partie du monde oriental alors connu. On le comprend encore mieux si l'on se souvient qu'en 1961, Mlle Pirenne dans un article retentissant[3] avait proposé de dater le *Périple* des années 225-230 de notre ère, contre l'opinion dominante qui lui assignait la seconde moitié du 1er siècle après J.-C. Mlle Pirenne recevait bientôt le soutien de F. Altheim et R. Stiehl[4], dont la fougue fut souvent hargneuse, et celui, plus serein de quelques autres savants, cependant que, dès 1965, A. Dihle[5] consacrait un chapitre de ses remarquables *Umstrittene Daten* à réfuter les argu-

1. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers,* Oxford, 1952, p. 3-14.

2. H. Frisk, *Le Périple de la mer Erythrée, suivi d'une étude sur la tradition et la langue,* Göteborg, 1927.

3. J. Pirenne, *Un problème-clef pour la chronologie de l'Orient: la date du "Périple de la mer Erythrée",* dans *Journ. Asiat.,* no. 249, 1962, p. 441-459.

4. F. Altheim et R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt,* I, Berlin, 1964, p. 40 sq; cf. aussi IV, 494-502 et *passim.*

5. A. Dihle, *Umstrittene Daten. Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer,* Cologne, 1965, p. 9-35.

ments des champions d'une datation basse du *Périple*. Quant à W. Raunig lui-même, au terme d'une revue soigneusement menée région par région, il concluait sur une note de scepticisme désabusé, sans toutefois dissimuler combien il était impressionné par la démonstration d'A. Dihle. Dans cette querelle apparue dès le milieu du XIXe siècle[6], à bien peser les arguments, il lui apparaissait que la balance continuait à pencher du côté de la datation haute. Pour notre part, nous voudrions, quinze ans après, évoquer brièvement la plus grande partie des travaux qui ont été voués au *Périple* depuis le bilan dressé par W. Raunig, en accordant une attention particulière, mais non point exclusive, à l'évolution du problème de sa datation.

Nous commencerons par considérer la série des études ponctuelles qui ont permis d'élucider, avec plus ou moins de réussite, quelques-unes des nombreuses difficultés de détail que présente le texte du *Périple*. Mais avant tout, il convient de rendre hommage à la nouvelle traduction en anglais due au regretté G.W.B. Huntingford et publiée en 1980 dans la collection de la *Hakluyt Society*. Malheureusement cette édition qui comporte un commentaire fort intéressant, ne reproduit pas le texte grec; mais l'auteur a traduit, comme il convenait, le texte établi par H. Frisk, et sa traduction est par là déjà bien supérieure à celle de son prédécesseur W.H. Schoff[7] qui partait, lui, du texte établi par C. Müller dans les *Geographi Graeci minores*[8].

Une vingtaine de passages ont été reconsidérés, presque tous par L. Casson ou par G. Giangrande. Nous signalerons les plus importantes de ces corrections ou de ces discussions du texte grec en les ordonnant selon les paragraphes qu'elles concernent et en laissant de côté celles qui sont purement philologiques.

§4: L. Casson (1980), en faisant valoir que l'île de Didoros près d'Adoulis est obligatoirement située hors du golfe de Zula qui ne renferme pas d'île, propose de corriger κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἐσώτατον κόλπον en κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν ἐξώτατον κόλπον.

§12: Selon le même auteur (1980), l'ἄρωμα indéterminé qui pousserait dans la région du Cap des Aromates (Cap Guardafui) serait

6. Cf. J.T. Reinaud, *Mémoire sur le commencement et la fin du royaume de la Mésène et de la Kharacène et sur l'époque de la rédaction du Périple de la mer Erythrée*, dans *Journ. Asiat.*, VI, 1861, p. 161-262; Idem, *Mémoire sur la Périple de la mer Erythrée et sur la navigation des mers orientales au milieu du IIIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, dans *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, XXIV, 2, Paris, 1864, p. 225-277.

7. W.H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, New York, 1912.

8. C. Müller, *Geographi Graeci minores*, I, Paris, 1855, p. 257-305.

l'*aroma Indicum* du *Digeste*, probablement une variété de casia, c'est-à-dire d'écorce de *Cinnamomum cassia*, comme l'a confirmé par ailleurs L. Casson (1984a) dans un chapitre qu'il vient de consacrer au cinnamome et à la casia.

§16: Les habitants des côtes de la région de Rhapta, dans l'actuelle Tanzanie, très grands selon le *Périple*, sont dits dans le manuscrit ὁρατοὶ, "visibles", ce qui a paru bizarre. H. Frisk avait corrigé, d'une main qui ne fut pas légère, ὁρατοὶ en πειραταὶ, "pirates". G. Giangrande (1975) a proposé ἀρόται, "agriculteurs". Mais dans ce sud-est de l'Afrique il est sans doute plus difficile de faire remonter à l'antiquité l'agriculture que d'y supposer l'existence de la piraterie. O. Bucci (1977) préfère conserver ὁρατοὶ qui renforcerait seulement le sens de μέγιστοι, "très grands".

§17: Nous apprenons ici que de Rhapta et des marchés de l'Azanie on exporte notamment ναύπλιος ὀλίγος, que l'on a été parfois tenté de corriger en ναργίλιος ὀλίγος, soit "un peu d'huile de palme". Grâce à une comparaison avec Pline l'Ancien, IX, 94, L. Casson (1980) établit qu'il s'agit de coquilles de nautile, utilisées par l'artisanat, qui s'insèrent bien dans une liste de produits exportés comprenant des cornes de rhinocéros et des carapaces de tortue.

§26: G. Giangrande (1976) estime que c'est à tort que l'on a corrigé εἰς τοὺς ἔσω τόπους du manuscrit en εἰς τοὺς ἔξω τόπους, en faisant valoir que, selon le contexte, les marins égyptiens sortant de la mer Rouge s'engagent dans l'océan Indien (mais sans oser aller loin). En fait on peut en quelque sorte "s'enfoncer" dans un océan et tout dépend du point de référence de la notion, toute relative, d'intériorité. Remarquons, pour notre part, que cette observation avait déjà été faite trente ans plus tôt par E. Wistrand[9] dans une remarquable dissertation. De même, au §42 (G. Giangrande, 1976), le golfe est bien ἔσω κυμάτων, "en deçà des vagues", et non, comme l'a corrigé H. Frisk, ἔξω κυμάτων, "en dehors des vagues".

§30: S'agissant des carapaces des tortues de montagne dans l'île de Dioscoride (Socotora), selon L. Casson (1982a), il convient de garder le comparatif de πυρρότερα, avec le sens, bien attesté, de "plus jaunes" qui est approprié pour qualifier les parties antérieures de la carapace de cette espèce, et ne pas corriger en στερρότερα, "plus dures", parce qu'il n'y a pas de différence sensible de fermeté ou d'épaisseur entre les parties antérieures et les parties postérieures.

9. E. Wistrand, *Nach innen oder nach aussen? Zum geographischen Sprachgebrauch der Römer*, Göteborg, 1946, p. 21.

§36: Toujours d'après L. Casson (1982b), de l'Inde est exporté vers la Perside non point du bois de santal (ξύλον σανταλίνων, correction d'éditeur), mais du bois de teck (ξύλον σαγαλίνων, très proche de la leçon du manuscrit σαγαλινο, cf. en marathi: sāgalī, "de teck").

§46: A propos des tempêtes qui rendent dangereux les abords de Barygaza (Broach), L. Casson (1982a) corrige de tout autre manière que K. Müller un texte visiblement corrompu: οὐδέν παραμένουσιν αἱ κατέχουσαι ἄγχυραι, "les ancres qui retiennent le navire ne restent absolument pas en place".

§57: Un bref, mais substantiel article a été consacré par L. Casson (1984b) au passage célèbre qui décrit comment les navigateurs utilisent la mousson du sud-ouest, selon la portion du littoral de l'Inde qu'ils veulent rallier. En particulier, ceux qui voguent vers la côte de Malabar (Limyricè) et le sud-ouest de l'Inde ne tournent pas l'étrave de leur navire vers la vent, comme le dit G.W.B. Huntingford dans sa traduction de τραχηλίζοντες ("turning the bows of the ship against the wind"), mais "maintiennent leur cap (ἀντέχουσι) en bloquant le vent" (contre le tribord), comme des lutteurs qui font une prise de tête à leur adversaire (τραχηλίζοντες).

§64: Le *Périple* affirme la proximité de la lointaine Thina τοῖς ἀπεστραμμένοις μέρεσιν τοῦ Πόντου καὶ τῆς Κασπίας θαλάσσης. G. Giangrande (1981) rapproche ce passage d'un passage similaire de §18: τοῖς ἀπεστραμμένοις μέρεσιν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας καὶ Λιβύης καὶ Ἀφρικῆς. Il s'agit, dans les deux cas, des parties de l'œkoumène qui "se détournent" pour regarder vers l'océan extérieur (cf. en latin *auersa).*

Après cette série d'études fort utiles, mais très ponctuelles, nous signalerons encore deux articles qui concernent directement le *Périple.* L'un (L. Casson, 1983a) élucide quelques termes du vocabulaire du vêtement gréco-romain.

Appliqué à une étoffe ou à un vêtement, l'adjectif ἁπλοῦς signifie seulement "sans ornement", tandis que l'adjectif νόθος désigne le tissu imprimé qui imite les motifs obtenus par des procédés plus coûteux, tissage ou broderie.

D'autre part, le neutre pluriel μολόχινα, un adjectif pris comme substantif qui apparaît aussi à plusieurs reprises dans le *Périple,* ne sert pas à mentionner des vêtements faits de fibre de mauve, comme on le prétend communément, mais des vêtements de jute. Quant au second article (L. Casson, 1981), il a trait à la localisation d'Adoulis. Malgré l'existence de ruines depuis longtemps connues au lieu-dit Azoula, entre Afta au nord et Zoula au sud - un site sur lequel F. Anfray[10] a fait rapidement le point en 1974 - L. Casson propose de situer l'Adoulis du *Périple* sensiblement plus au nord, à Massawa, à l'entrée septentrionale de la baie d'Harkiko. L'île de Didoros serait alors Taulud et l'île d'Oreinè Dissei. Cette remise en cause de la localisation d'Adoulis suscitera sans doute des résistances.

Parmi les problèmes d'un ordre plus général que pose le *Périple,* celui de sa datation a continué de retenir l'attention de façon quasi exclusive. En ce sens, il n'y a pas eu de rupture de continuité depuis le bilan dressé par W. Raunig, si bien qu'entre 1974 et 1976, M. Rodinson (1974/1975 et 1975/1976) ajugé bon d'examiner à nouveau le dossier en détail, avec une acribie, une conscience et une pondération tout à fait remarquables. Sa conclusion, empreinte de réserve, est que si la majorité des indices plaide en faveur d'une datation dans la seconde moitié du 1er siècle de notre ère, quelques arguments avancés en faveur d'une datation basse semblent recevables et qu'en conséquence, "on est tenté de voir dans le *Périple* une compilation de renseignements empruntés à divers mémoires antérieurs de dates différentes"[11]. En fait, peu de raisons invoquées pour fonder une datation au IIIe siècle de notre ère trouvent grâce à ses yeux. Parmi le tout petit nombre de celles qu'il retient, on s'étonnera de l'importance accordée à la mention de l'importation des chevaux et des mulets en Arabie du Sud (§24, 28). Ces animaux étant absents de l'Arabie au Ier siècle de notre ère, selon Strabon, leur présence plaiderait, pense M. Rodinson, en faveur d'une datation du *Périple* au IIIe siècle. Or croire que ces animaux n'existaient pas dans cette région au Ier siècle de notre ère sur l'unique témoignage de Strabon, XVI, 4, 2 (C 768) n'est guère fondé, puisque, comme le signale lui-même M. Rodinson, Strabon cite ici Eratosthène, c'est-à-dire un auteur vivant au IIIe siècle avant notre ère. De toute façon, le fait que les souverains de l'Arabie du Sud devaient importer chevaux et mulets prouve qu'il n'y avait pas d'élevage de ces animaux dans leurs royaumes[12]. D'autre part, la première mention de chevaux dans l'épigraphie sud-arabique vers

10. F. Anfray, *Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara,* dans *IV Congresso intern. di Studi etiopici (Roma, 10-15 aprile 1972),* I, Rome (Accad. naz. dei Lincei, anno CCCLXXI, quad. no. 191), 1974, p. 748-753.

11. M. Rodinson, dans *Annuaire E.P.H.E., IVe section,* Paris, 1975/1976, p. 218; avis partagé par H. von Wissmann, *Die Geschichte des Sabäerreiches und der Feldzug des Aelius Gallus,* dans *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt,* II.9.1, Berlin/New York, 1976, p. 434.

12. Cf. P. Goukowski, *Les juments du roi Erythras,* dans *R.E.G.,* LXXXVII, 1974, p. 134-135.

140 de notre ère nous paraît un *terminus post quem* singulièrement fragile pour l'apparition du cheval.

Nous nous garderons de refaire le tour d'horizon complet auquel a procédé avec tant d'entrain et de science M. Rodinson. Nous nous contenterons ici de signaler rapidement l'évolution de trois ou quatre aspects principaux du débat dans la période la plus récente.

Assurément, on ne peut que constater le scepticisme croissant des érudits à l'égard de la thèse si brillamment exposée par J. Pirenne et si âprement défendue jusqu'à sa mort par F. Altheim. Il est aujourd'hui reconnu par tous qu'aucun roi Malichas ou Malichos n'est attesté après l'annexion de la Nabatène par Trajan[13] et qu'il est impossible que ce roi Malichas ait pu être chez lui à Petra après la constitution de la province romaine d'Arabie (cf. *Périple,* 19: εἰς Πέτραν πρὸς Μαλίχαν, πρὸς reprenant assurément εἰς). Le Malichas du *Périple* ne peut donc être que Malichos II qui régna approximativement de 40 à 70 de notre ère. Cette certitude a été fermement rappelée par G.W. Bowersock[14] et M.G. Raschke[15].

La chronologie des souverains indiens au début de notre ère est encore mal assurée et aucune certitude ne s'est dégagée pour la datation du *Périple.* Néanmoins, on observe aussi une tendance croissante, chez les indianistes, à rejeter l'hypothèse d'une datation au IIIe siècle de notre ère. D.W. MacDowall[16], il y a une vingtaine d'années, le situait vers 125 de notre ère, et D.C. Sircar[17] vers 80. Ce dernier auteur mettait en doute l'identification très généralement admise du roi Mambanos du *Périple*, 41, avec Nahapāna, roi saka. Depuis, D.W. MacDowall et N.G. Wilson (1970) ont défendu cette identification. De plus, ils ont proposé plusieurs *termini* pour la rédaction du *Périple*. Elle est postérieure à la conquête de vastes provinces de l'Inde septentrionale par le roi kouchan Héraios ou Sôter Mégas, dont ils prétendent lire le nom au §47 du *Périple,* de façon assez hypothétique, il est vrai; or cette conquête se situerait vers la fin du Ier siècle de notre ère; postérieure aussi à l'apparition d'un monnayage en or kouchan *(Périple,* 63), dont nous savons par ailleurs qu'il est le fait du roi Vima Kadphisès à la fin du règne de son père, Sôter Mégas, ce qui nous conduit également vers 100 de notre ère. Enfin l'échange bénéficiaire de monnaie d'or et d'argent (et non de lingots) contre de la monnaie locale auquel se livrent les commerçants de l'Empire romain à Barygaza *(Périple,* 49) ne peut se consevoir qu'après la réduction du poids d'or de l'*aureus* et du poids d'argent du denier opérée par Trajan en 98/99 de notre ère. Le *Périple* refléterait donc une situation de l'Inde datant des environs de 100 de notre ére.

De son côté, L. Casson (1983b) a réexaminé une indication du *Périple,* 52, selon laquelle les navires de l'Empire qui d'aventure parviennent dans les ports de la région de Kalliena au nord de l'actuelle Bombay, sont reconduits sous escorte plus au nord, vers le port de Barygaza (Broach). Il a montré qu'il s'agit là d'une initiative des Sakas en possession du littoral, de Barygaza à Kalliena, une ville récemment conquise sur les Andhras. Les Sakas tentent d'échapper ainsi au blocus terrestre et à la guerre de course que leur imposent les Andhras. Malheureusement, compte tenu des vicissitudes fréquentes dans les rapports de force durant cette période en cette région, cette contribution ne peut permettre de dater le *Périple,* quel que soit par ailleurs son intérêt historique.

Mais il est un domaine où les connaissances ont beaucoup progressé depuis le tour d'horizon magistral de M. Rodinson: c'est celui de l'histoire de l'Arabie du Sud au IIIe siècle de notre ère. La chronologie de la période a pu être fixée de façon satisfaisante, à la suite de l'identification à sept années près du point de départ d'une ère locale utilisée dans de nombreuses inscriptions d'intérêt historique, l'ère radmanite. Nous empruntons à Chr. Robin[18], qui a récemment exposé avec maîtrise les principaux acquis de la recherche, les deux points suivants, essentiels pour notre propos. D'une part, une bonne trentaine d'inscriptions attestent que les rois d'Axoum sont présents en Arabie du Sud et y jouent un rôle déterminant, voire hégémonique, de 200 à 270 de notre ère. Or le *Périple,* qui signale le royaume axoumite en Afrique (§4), ne dit mot de cette implantation en Arabie, limitant assez étroitement en Afrique même le domaine sur lequel le roi axoumite Zôscalès étend son autorité (§5). D'autre part, les noms des rois arabes attestés dans le *Périple* ne permettent aucun rapprochement significatif pour le IIIe siècle. Il n'y a pas,

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13. J. Starcky, art. *Pétra et le royaume de Nabatène,* dans *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible,* fasc. 39, Paris, 1964, p. 918.

14. G.W. Bowersock, *A Report on Arabia provincia,* dans *Journ. of Rom. Stud.,* LXI, 1971, p. 223-225; Idem, *Roman Arabia,* Cambridge (Mass.)/Londres, 1983, p. 70.

15. M.G. Raschke, *New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East,* dans *A.N.R.W.,* II.9.2, Berlin/New York, 1978, p. 663-664; cf. aussi I.Ch. Chifman, *A propos de la datation du paragraphe 19 du Périple de la mer Erythrée* (en russe), dans *Palestinskij Sbornik,* XXVI (LXXXIX), 1978, p. 136-139.

16. D.W. MacDowall, *The Early Western Satraps and the Date of the Periplus,* dans *The numism. Chron.,* 7e série, IV, 1964, p. 271-280.

17. D.C. Sircar, *Early Western Satraps and the Date of the Periplus, ibid.,* VI, 1966, p. 241-249.

18. Ch. Robin, *Les Abyssins en Arabie méridionale (IIe-IVe s.),* à paraître dans les *Proceed. of the Eight intern. Conference of Ethiopian Studies,* Addis Ababa, Nov. 26-30, 1984.

notamment, dans cette période de Karib'il de Saba' et d'Il^casa du Ḥaḍramaut qui soient contemporains. M. Robin en déduit qu'il semble exclu que la section du *Périple* qui traite de l'Arabie méridionale puisse concerner le IIIe siècle.

Resterait à envisager l'hypothèse ancienne, reprise par M. Rodinson, non sans scrupules et sans réticences, que le *Périple de la mer Erythrée* serait une œvre composite, faite d'apports successifs, dont la chronologie pourrait par conséquent varier selon les régions considérées, comme il en est par exemple du *Périple du pseudo-Scylax*[19]. Nul doute qu'une étude minutieuse ne soit indispensable pour confirmer ou infirmer une telle hypothèse. Au terme de cette brève revue bibliographique, qu'on nous permette cependant d'exprimer à ce sujet un point de vue qui n'est que celui d'un lecteur assidu de cet opuscule fascinant: s'il est un texte géographique de l'Antiquité qui donne une impression d'unité entre toutes ses parties, par le style comme par le fond, c'est bien celui-là. Les disparates que l'on peut observer entre la chronologie des faits nabatéens et celle des faits indiens, par exemple, même si l'on suppose cette dernière correctement établie, ne nous semblent pas nécessiter le recours à l'hypothèse de M. Rodinson. L'auteur du *Périple* nous livre en effet, selon toute vraisemblance, des renseignements échelonnés dans l'expérience d'une vie, c'est-à-dire dans une expérience qui peut embraser trois ou quatre décennies; d'autre part, rien ne prouve qu'il ait vu lui-même toutes les régions littorales qu'il décrit. Sous ces réserves, nous serions enclin à penser que le vrai débat reste bien entre une datation de notre texte dans la seconde moitié du Ier siècle de notre ère et une datation au IIIe siècle dont les partisans ne se sont guère manifestés dans les quinze dernières années.

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19. J. Desanges, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique*, Rome, 1978, p. 87-98.

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'Umāra ibn Ḥamza, Constantine V, and the invention of the elixir

A report given by al-Manṣūr's ambassador 'Umāra ibn Ḥamza about his visit to the Byzantine court deserves our interest in two respects. First it is of some importance for the history of science, i.e. for the often disputed question when exactly the reception of Greek science by the Muslims began. Secondly we get a glance at one of the most intriguing personalities who ever occupied the imperial throne in Constantinople.[1] 'Umāra does not mention his name, but it can be determined on chronological grounds. When al-Manṣūr came to power in 754, Constantine V, called Copronymous, was governing since 741. Both rulers died nearly at the same time, al-Manṣūr Oct. 7th 775, Constantine three weeks earlier Sept. 14th 775. It is impossible to assume that 'Umāra met with Constantine's son and successor Leo IV, for he needed some time to travel home to Baghdad and to report to al-Manṣūr. Constantine V was a shrewd and ruthless personality and a protagonist of the iconoclastic movement. The triumphant orthodoxy was successful in denigrating his memory and to suppress his political merits. Thus the Arabic sources become especially valuable.

The first audience accorded to 'Umāra resembles very much that of Gerhard of Cremona as described two centuries later in his famous "Antapodosis".[2] A lot of machinery is employed in order to frighten the foreigner, dancing swords, mechanical lions, which seemed to be alive, a red cloud and a green cloud suddenly covering him so that he could not proceed further towards the throne but had to sit down on the floor until the smoke had disappeared.[3] The localities at the imperial palace as

1. Cf. I. Rochow, Kaiser Konstantin V., Berlin (forthcoming).
2. The parallels are mentioned by G.E. von Grunebaum, Der Islam in Mittelalter, Zurich, Stuttgart 1963, p. 453, note 76.
3. Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamaḏānī, *Mukhtaṣar kitāb al-buldān,* ed. by M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1885 (Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum V), p. 137-139; transl. in: Ibn al-Faqīh al-Hamaḏānī, Abrégé du livre des pays, transl. by H. Massé, Damascus 1973, p. 164-166.

described by 'Umāra still await identification.[4] He remained at the court for some time and eventually he got on more friendly terms with the emperor. 'Umāra even gives us an example of their small talk at the table when they had meal together. One day a little sealed jar was served which seemed to contain something very delicious. They were pickled capers. 'Umāra could not refrain from smiling, and the emperor asked him about the reason for this. He answered that these were a very common food in his country, whereupon the emperor replied: "Then your country must lie in ruins, for this plant only grows in ruins, and therefore it is very precious with us."[5]

Another joke or rather an ingenious trickery had far reaching consequences, and again we have no reason to doubt the authenticity for it is told not by the Byzantine sources that might be suspicious of exaggerating in favour of their side but by the Arab himself. Another day Constantine invited him to a special building apparently outside the imperial palace. There were rooms with sealed doors. One of them was opened and inside 'Umāra saw piled up bags filled with a white powder. Constantine asked him to point at random at one bag, and a small amount of it was taken into a vessel. Another sealed room contained bags with a red powder, and 'Umāra was asked again to choose the bag from which the sample was taken. Then the emperor ordered a portable furnace to be brought together with ingots of lead and copper. First the lead was melted and a tiny amount of the white powder just covering a thumb-nail was sprinkled over the metal. The result was pure silver. The same was done with the copper and the red powder, and "red gold" flowed out of the furnace. Constantine concluded with the remark: "Your lord should know that this is my money." 'Umāra adds: "I reported this to al-Manṣūr, and this was the reason that induced him to become concerned in alchemy."[6]

The two experiments that 'Umāra was allowed to see were nothing else but he classical transmutation with the help of the elixir, in utmost perfection. Nowadays one cannot refrain from speculating a bit about the kind of trick so successfully employed here. From 'Umāra's narrative it

4. Cf. now S. Miranda, Étude sur le Palais Sacré de Constantinople. Le Walker Trust et le Palais de Daphnè. In: Byzantinoslavica 44, 1982, p. 41-49; H. Hunger, Der Kaiserpalast zu Konstantinopel. Seine Funktionen in der byzantinischen Außen- und Innenpolitik. In: Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik 36, 1986, esp. p. 4.

5. Al-Biruni's book on pharmacy and materia medica, ed. by Hakim Mohammed Said, Karachi 1973, p. 47; German transl. in: Al-Bīrūnī, In den Gärten der Wissenschaft, transl. by G. Strohmaier, Leipzig 1988, p. 235.

6. Ibn al-Faqīh (see above note 3), p., 139.

becomes clear that he did not procure the ingots himself. So one might remember a simple ruse that the alchemist Michael Sendivogius (1566-1636) tried before the German emperor Ferdinand II.[7] You take a piece of gold or silver and cover it with a thin layer of the base metal, so that the spectator must believe it to be nothing else than copper or lead, and when it is melted in the oven, you may administer any kind of powder as elixir.

At any rate, we have in 'Umāra's account the earliest Arabic testimony for the whole concept of transmutation with the help of the elixir, hitherto unnoticed in the history of science, so far as I know. And here we recognize all the basic principles which dominated the efforts of the Muslim alchemists later on:

(1) the idea that the elixir should be a dry powder, in correspondence with the Greek term "xerion" whence the Arabic *al-iksīr.*[8] The latter does not occur in the preserved parts of 'Umāra's report.

(2) the distinction between a red elixir for gold and a white elixir for silver.[9]

(3) the relation between a tiny amount of the elixir and the quantity of the base metal up to more than a million times larger.[10]

(4) the expectation that the elixir acts instantly by simple "projection".[11]

But Constantine V did not invent the whole concept of the elixir, he must have got the idea for his ruse from earlier Greek alchemical literature. The first testimony is to be found in Zosimus (about 300 A.D.), where already a distinction between the white and the red xerion is made.[12] Constantine's predecessor Heraclius (610-641) had been in contact with the alchemist Stephanus[13], who is, perhaps, identical with the philosopher and medical author Stephanus of Alexandria or Athens.[14] In the Arabic tradition we come across the title *Risāla Isṭifānūs*

7. Cf. H. Biedermann, Handlexikon der magischen Künste, 2. Aufl. Graz 1973, s.v. Sendivogius.

8. M. Ullmann, art. *al-iksīr.* In: EI^2, s.v.; idem, Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam, Leiden, Köln 1972, p. 257-260.

9. F. Rex, Zur Theorie der Naturprozesse in der früharabischen Wissenschaft, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 115.

10. Ibid.

11. Ullmann (see above note 8).

12. E.O. von Lippmann, Entstehung und Ausbreitung der Alchemie, vol. 1, Berlin 1919, p. 79-80, cf. p. 345-346 and index s.v. Elixir.

13. Ibid. p. 103-106.

14. Cf. P. Lemerle, Le premier humanisme byzantin, Paris 1971, p. 80-81.

ilā Hiraql al-malik fī tarkīb al-iksīr al-shamsī wa-l-qamarī ("Letter from Stephanus to Heraclius about the composition of the elixir of the sun, i.e. gold, and of the elixir of the moon, i.e. silver").[15] According to Julius Ruska this tract, which is now considered as lost, is but a forgery.[16] It is, nevertheless, a further testimony for the fact that Heraclius was known as being interested in the art of alchemy.

In general, the curious concept of the elixir, though not absent in the earlier Greek literature, plays no dominant role in Greek alchemy, whereas in the Muslim world the adept was as a rule obsessed by the idea that this miraculous powder had to be produced first before the actual work of transmutation. One might ask whether Constantine V was responsible for this decisive turn of Arabic alchemy from the very beginning. 'Umāra ibn Ḥamza was made to believe that the Byzantines were able to produce artificial gold and silver, and his report induced al-Manṣūr to take the necessary measures in order to counterbalance the new financial resources of the emperor. The report gave the guiding principles for al-Manṣūr's research program which may have included the translation of relevant Greek or Syriac texts. It did not remain secret, as 'Umāra's report itself became accessible to other authors who quote therefrom. Al-Manṣūr's quest of the elixir spread to endless generations of alchemists, who shared his firm belief that the great work of transmutation had already been achieved and that their task was only to rediscover the method.

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15. F. Sezgin, Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums, vol. 4, Leiden 1971, p. 110; Ullmann (1972, see above note 8), p. 189.

16. Tabula Smaragdina. Ein Beitrag sur Geschichte der hermetischen Litteratur, Heidelberg 1926, p. 111.

La version arabe du Roman d'Alexandre

Y-a-t-il eu une version arabe du Roman d'Alexandre? C'est à cette question que cette contribution tentera de répondre.

L'on sait que la légende d'Alexandre s'est développée à l'époque impériale. En Occident, les *Res gestae Alexandri* du rhéteur Quinte-Curce, qui vécut sous Claude, représentent une étape importante dans l'acheminement de l'histoire vers la légende, étape précédée par des tentatives diverses de fixation par écrit de souvenir d'une épopée qu'Orient et Occident s'accordaient à vouloir exalter: il y avait eu Eumène de Cardia et Diodore d'Erythrée, contemporains des événements, qui mirent en ordre des éphémérides; il y avait eu, aussi, Callisthène d'Olynthe qui rassembla les souvenirs, les correspondances et les mémoires. Et, bien plus tard, il y eut Arien de Nicomédie qui fixa la tradition historique en partant du legs de ses lointains prédécesseurs.

Parallèlement à ce mouvement littéraire, il y a eu, dans le monde hellénistique unifié par une culture commune, formation de récits populaires et transfert de traditions relatives aux héros locaux, qui contribuèrent à l'éclosion d'éléments légendaires et moraux. Mêlés aux faits historiques, ces éléments donnèrent naissance à une tradition populaire où le merveilleux s'infiltra de plus en plus. Plutarque fut le premier à en fixer les traits. Celui-ci voyait en Alexandre la préfiguration de César et de l'Empire, alors que les peuples hellénisés voyaient, à travers lui, "leurs souverains légitimes, écartés par le Romain et dont tant de monuments attestaient le passage"[1].

De la fusion de la tradition historique et de la tradition populaire à tendance évhémeriste est née, vraisemblablement à Alexandrie, une oeuvre qui va connaître une grande vogue. Connue dans trois recen-

1. A. Abel, *Le Roman d'Alexandre. Légendaire Médiéval,* Bruxelles, 1955 (Coll. Lebègue et Nationale, no. 112), p. 10.

sions qui se distinguent par des amplifications successives, cette oeuvre, attribuée à Callisthène, est une volumineuse compilation racontant l'épopée d'Alexandre, fils non de Philippe de Macédoine, mais plutôt d'un Egyptien nommé Nectanebo, mage talentueux qui exerçait son art à la Cour de Philippe.

Ce récit est une succession d'interventions divines, de rencontres merveilleuses, de phénomènes étranges..., caractéristiques d'une époque qui a vu naître, par exemple, la légendaire *Vie d'Appolonios* (de Tyane) par Philostrate (m. en 249). Les écrits de cette époque qui va d'Alexandre jusqu'au Vème siècle de l'ère chrétienne environ, sont marqués, selon E. Renan, par une "absence totale de jugement, (un) syncrétisme intempérant, (un) évhémérisme grossier (et une) vanité nationale exagérée"[2].

Outre les tendances nationales et revendicatrices et le besoin d'accumuler les récits étonnants, signalons un autre trait qui marque l'époque de la formation de ce *Roman* (les IIe-IVe s.), à savoir la croyance générale aux présages, aux oracles, aux prodiges, et la recherche des *mirabilia* qui vont connaître une littérature foisonnante, dont l'Inde fournira les principaux matériaux. Palladius (né en 364), dans son Περὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰνδίας ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν Βραχμανῶν, en fixe l'essentiel et l'*Agriculture Nabatéenne,* dans de longs passages, mis dans la bouche d'Adam, en étale les merveilles.

*

La Basse-Antiquité et le Haut Moyen-âge avaient un goût prononcé pour le fantastique, l'exceptionnel, l'extraordinaire. Cela justifie la grande faveur dont ce *Roman* a joui. Il a connu plusieurs versions: une version latine de la recension A (la plus sobre), intitulée *Julii Valerii Alexandrii Polemi* (=gr. πόλεμοι), écrite au plus tard vers 330[3]; une version pehlevie (voir *infra),* une version syriaque[4]; une version arabe[5], une

2. *Sur les débris de l'ancienne littérature babylonienne conservés dans les traductions arabes,* in *Revue Germanique* 10/1860, p. 158.

3. Cf. détails *ap.* Abel, *op.cit.,* p. 50 sqq., où l'on trouvera les autres traductions latines, notamment l'*Historia de Preliis* de l'archiprêtre Léon (Xe s.), éd. Gustav Landgraf, Erlangen, 1885.

4. Cf. E.A. Wallis-Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great being Syriac version of the Ps.-Callisthenes.* Texte et traduction anglaise, Cambridge 1889; cf. aussi Van Rijssel, in *Archiv das Studium der Neueren Sprachen,* t. 90/1893 (traduction allemande).

5. E. García Gomez, *Un texto occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro,* Madrid-Grenade, 1930.

version éthiopienne[6], une version copte[7], etc.

La version arabe indiquée ci-dessus étant tardive, on peut se demander par quelle voie le *Roman* d'Alexandre est parvenu aux Arabes? Car on en trouve déjà des réminiscences dans le Coran, dans le *Ḥadîth,* dans le *Tafsîr,* dans les histoires universelles et dans le folklore. De nombreux et savants travaux existent sur la question, à commencer par la magistrale étude de Th. Nöldeke, intitulée *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexander Romans,* parue en 1890 dans les Mémoires de l'Académie de Vienne, vol. 38, et celle de Friedländer, intitulée *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexanderroman,* parue à Leipzig en 1913. La synthèse de ces travaux a été faite en 1955 par Armand Abel, dans le volume 112 de la Collection Lebègue et Nationale, sous le titre *Le Roman d'Alexandre. Légendaire médiéval*[8], et par Friedrich Pfister, en 1956, sous le titre *Alexander der Grosse in den Offenbarungun der Griechens, Juden, Mohammedaner und Christen,* étude parue dans les publications de la Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin[9].

Il ressort de ces recherches que le Roman d'Alexandre rédigé aux IIIe-IVe siècles, vraisemblablement à Alexandrie, a été traduit d'abord en pehlevi; et c'est à partir de cette langue qu'il aurait été traduit par un chrétien syriaque avant la fin de l'époque sassanide. Cette traduction syriaque, éditée et traduite en anglais et en allemand *(supra,* p. 2, n. 4) a servi, avec une *Légende d'Alexandre,* éditée et traduite en anglais également par Budge, à la suite du *Roman,* de source à un long poème de 777 vers, écrit par Jacques de Sarûğ (451-521), un auteur syriaque célèbre[10]. Dans ce poème, Alexandre, qualifié de Dhû l-Qarnayn, probablement en raison de sa représentation sur les monnaies hellénistiques avec les cornes d'Amon[11], se présente comme un personnage apocalyptique et mythique, investi par Dieu d'une mission à caractère universel; "sous l'impulsion d'un souffle divin, (il a) fait le tour de la terre,

6. Cf. E.A. Wallis-Brudge, *The life and exploits of Alexander the Great,* being a series of Ethiopic texts, edited from manuscripts in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with English translation and notes, I-II, Londres 1896; K. Fr. Weymann, *Die äthiopische und arabische Übersetzung der Ps.-Callisthenes,* Dissertation Heidelberg, 1901.

7. Cf. Oscar von Lemm, *Der Alexander - roman bei den Kopten,* St.-Pétersbourg, 1903.

8. L'auteur consacrera deux autres études à cette question: *Dhû l-Qarnayn, prophète de l'universalité,* in *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves,* XI/ Bruxelles 1959, pp. 6-18; *La figure d'Alexandre en Iran,* in Academia dei lincei, Convegno sul tema *La Persia e il mondo greco-romano,* Rome 1966, pp. 120-134.

9. *Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft,* 3, 55 p.

10. Cf. Hunnius, *Das Syrische Alexander lied,* Dissertation. Göttingen, 1904.

11. Cf. R. St. Poole, *Catalogue of Greek Coins. The Ptolemies Kings of Egypt,* I, 1/1883.

pénétré dans la région des ombres, trouvé la source de la vie et édifié, aux bornes du monde habité, un mur qui retenait les peuples, dont l'irruption marquerait la fin des temps, pour une date qu'il avait prédite, dans son inscription gravée sur ce mur, et que les auteurs syriens avaient transmise"[12].

Cette image sous laquelle apparaît le roi macédonien dans des écrits hellénistiques et syriaques, se reflète dans une sourate coranique, celle de la Cavrne (XVIII), où, dans un premier groupe de versets (59-64), Alexandre, confondu avec Moïse (réputé avoir eu deux cornes), est accompagné d'un *fatä* (=le grec παῖς et le latin *puer)* qui rappelle André, le cuisinier du *Roman,* "à qui le poisson (salé) qu'il lavait dans la source de vie échappa, soudain ressucité"[13]. En effet, le verset 60 dit: "Et quand ils furent parvenus, tous deux, au lieu qui fait la jonction (des deux mers qui, à l'Orient et à l'Occident, enserrent la terre), ils oublièrent leur poisson et celui-ci se fraya, par un canal, son chemin dans la mer".

Dans un second groupe (vv. 82 à 98), c'est le caractère octroyé par la tradition chrétienne à Alexandre que le Coran reflète: "Nous lui avons fait place sur la terre et nous lui avons donné d'oeuvrer en toutes choses...;lorsqu'il atteignit le Ponant, il trouva le soleil se couchant dans une source d'eau puante, il rencontra, à proximité d'elle, un peuple... Puis..., ayant atteint le levant, il vit le soleil monter sur un peuple à qui nous n'avions rien donné d'autre que lui pour se couvrir... Ensuite... lorsqu'il atteignit les deux limites, il trouva un peuple qui n'était pas en état de comprendre une parole... Gog et Magog", face auxquels il dressa une muraille en fer.

Ces versets, véhiculant des éléments populaires issus de milieux juifs et chrétiens, ont donné naissance à toute une littérature sur Alexandre, dont l'essentiel provenait des versions hellénistiques et syriaques de son *Roman.*

De l'avis de Nöldeke, il a dû exister une version pehlevie qui a dû être utilisée par Firdûsî (916-1020), dans le *Shâh Nâmeh,* et peut-être même, par Niẓâmî, deux siècles après. Dans l'*Iskandar Nâmeh,* constitué du *Sharaf Nâmeh* et de l'*Iqbâl Nâmeh,* celui-ci dit, dans le c. XIII: "J'ai pris mon bien dans tous les livres juifs, chrétiens, *pehlevis,* et j'ai choisi de chacun le meilleur"[14]. Cette version a dû servir aussi à Ṭabarî qui, dans son *Histoire,* utilise des sources pehlevies qui avaient été traduites, notamment par Ibn al-Muqaffa' (m. en 139/756), en particulier le *Khudây*

12. Abel, *Le Roman d'Alexandre, op.cit.,* p. 55, résumant Nöldeke, *Beiträge, op.cit.*

13. *Ib.,* p. 56.

14. Cité *ap.* Abel, *op.cit.,* p. 86; *id.,* art. Iskandar Nâma, in EI², IV, 133 sq.

Nâmeh, "Chronique royale rédigée sous les Sassanides et recueillant les traditions fabuleuses et historiques de l'Iran pré-musulman"[15].

De cette importante source, qui fut "le principal véhicule de transmission aux Arabes de l'épopée, de l'histoire et des institutions iraniennes", sont issues des élaborations et des développements plus ou moins fantaisistes d'historiens arabes, tels Ibn Qutayba, qui nous fit connaître le titre de la traduction arabe de cet écrit, à savoir *Siyar mulûk al-'ağam,* Ṭabarî, Mas'ûdî, Tha'âlibî (m. en 1128/1036) et toute la tradition historique, religieuse et folklorique de l'Islam.

Le *Khuday Nâmeh,* étant perdu, ainsi que sa traduction arabe, nous ne savons pas avec certitude s'il contenait l'histoire romanesque d'Alexandre. Mais, étant donné que celui-ci était entré dans la légende royale iranienne, comme demi-frère de Darius, son successeur et son gendre, il est fort possible que son *Roman* ait été incorporé ou, du moins, largement utilisé dans cette grande fresque historico-mythique.

Ainsi, par sa version syriaque, le *Roman* d'Alexandre se reflète dans la tradition religieuse de l'Islam, du Coran jusqu'aux *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyâ'* (Vies des prophètes), en passant par le Ḥadîth et le Tafsîr, et, par sa version pehlevie, il entre en grand renfort dans la tradition historique, anecdotique et folklorique, grâce à des historiens, originaires d'Iran, tels Ibn Qutayba d-Dînawarî (m. en 276/889), dans *'Uyûn al-aẖbâr,* Abû Ḥanîfa d-Dīnawarî (m. autour de 282/894), dans *al-Aẖbâr aṭ-ṭiwâl*[16], aṭ-Ṭabarî (m. en 311/923), dans son *Târîẖ ar-rusul wa-l-mulûk* et dans son commentaire de la sourate XVIII[17].

Le temps qui m'est imparti ne me permet pas de m'étendre sur l'évolution de la légende d'Alexandre dans la littérature et le folklore arabes, notamment dans les Commentaires du Coran, dans les écrits d'édification, dans les récits de divertissements, dans les contes des *Mille et une Nuits*[18]. On trouvera quelques développements sur ces sujets chez Armand Abel, Friedrich Pfister et dans les nombreuses études qu'ils signalent.

Après cette esquisse historique du *Roman* et de son introduction dans

15. EI², III, 908 (art. Ibn al-Mukaffa' de Fr. Gabrieli).

16. Cf. la comparaison établie entre les données de cet ouvrage et celles du *Shâh Nâmeh* de Firdûsî, par K.F. Weymann, *Die aethiopische und arabische Übersetzung des Pseudocallisthenes, op.cit.,* 64 sqq.

17. Sur Alexandre dans le Coran et dans la tradition exégétique musulmane, voir Abû l-Kalâm Âzâd, *Šaẖsiyyat Dhî l-Qarnayn al-maḏkûr fî l-Qur'ân,* in Ṯaqâfat al-Hind, I-II/1950.

18. Voir Erwin Rhode, *Der Griechische Roman,* Leipzig 1876, pp. 179-184, où des parallèles formels sont établis entre le *Sindabâd* et le *Roman* et entre ceux-ci et plusieurs contes des *Mille et Une Nuits.*

la sphère arabe, force est de constater qu'il ne nous est pas parvenu une version arabe complète du Pseudo-Callisthène; pourtant, l'existence d'une telle version est généralement admise, du fait que rien ne prouve que les polygraphes arabes qui nous fournissent de longs récits sur Alexandre, aient pu accéder aux versions grecque, pehlevie ou syriaque.

Depuis la publication de la version éthiopienne par Wallis-Budge en 1896, il est apparu avec évidence que cette version est faite sur une version arabe. En 1895, Bruno Meissner, célèbre assyriologue, qui a été frappé par certaines ressemblances qu'il releva entre la légende d'Alexandre et l'épopée de Gilgameš[19], publia, en 1895[20], un texte intitulé *Ahbâr al-Iskandar,* écrit par al-Mubaššir b. Fâtik (m. en 445/1053), un auteur qui collectionna les dits des philosophes de l'Antiquité. Sa grande compilation, intitulée *Muhtâr al-hikam wa-mahâsin al-kalim,* dont des extraits ont été traduits dans plusieurs langues européennes[21], comprend un long développement sur Alexandre, dont le contenu, très condensé, concorde, à quelques détails près, avec la recension A, la plus sobre des trois recensions connues du pseudo-Callisthène. Bruno Meissner, après avoir édité et traduit le texte en allemand, établit une concordance entre le texte grec et syriaque du *Roman* et le texte arabe de Mubaššir et conclut à une parenté étroite entre la version syriaque et cette version arabe condensée[22]. De cette conclusion on peut déduire qu'il a dû exister, en arabe, deux versions du *Roman* d'Alexandre, l'une traduite directement du pehlevi, utilisé particulièrement par les premiers historiens, l'autre traduite du syriaque, dont Mubaššir se serait servi pour son abrégé. Mubaššir, originaire de Damas, mais ayant vécu et écrit en Egypte, ne semble pas avoir accédé directement au texte syriaque; il semble plutôt avoir puisé des informations dans les travaux d'un célèbre traducteur du grec en syriaque et en arabe, Ḥunayn b. Isḥâq (m. en 260/873), auteur d'un ouvrage intitulé *Nawâdir al-falâsifa*[23] qui est un recueil d'histoires, de lettres et de dits attribués aux anciens philosophes grecs, mêlés aux propres réflexions de Ḥunayn; il est fondé sur des florilèges byzantins analogues et contient des matériaux très anciens (voir G. Strohmaier, dans *Hermes,* XCV (1967); la troisième partie traite de la

19. *Alexander und Gilgamesh,* Berlin, 1928.
20. In ZDMG 49/1395, pp. 583-627.
21. Cf. Brockelmann, GAL I, 459, SI 829; Kaḥḥâla, *Mu'ğam* VIII/1959, 175.
22. Cf. détails, *loc.cit.,* p. 620 sqq.
23. Cf. K. MERKLE, *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen, "Kitâb âdâb al-falâsifa" on Ḥonein ibn Isḥâq in der Überarbeitung des Muḥammed ibn 'Alî al-Anṣârî,* Leipzig, 1921.

mort d'Alexandre le Grand, et ses rapports avec le Roman d'Alexandre sont à rechercher"[24].

Ḥunayn aurait-il traduit le *Roman* du syriaque en arabe et Mubaššir aurait-il extrait de cette traduction ses *Ahbâr al-Iskandar,* cela reste à démontrer.

Voilà l'état de la question: tout milite pour l'existence d'une ancienne version arabe du *Roman* d'Alexandre; cependant rien n'en atteste la présence.

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24. Cf. G. Strohmaier, art. Ḥunayn b. Isḥâk al-'Ibâdî, in EI[2], III, 600.

Alexander the Great and the Arab Historians

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS:

The medieval Arab historians dealt with the episode of Alexander the Great (al-Iskandar) as part of the history of the ancient Near East before Islam. In their universal histories, the story of Alexander and his conquests falls chronologically between the end of the Persian Achaemenid dynasty and the rise of the Sāsānid dynasty. The history of Alexander's successors (especially the Seleucids and Ptolemies), as well as that of the Iranian "petty states" *Mulūk aṭ-Ṭawā'if)* subsequently constituting the Parthian or Arsacid empire, are also dealt with in this period. The historical account, first written down more than a thousand years after the events, agrees in its broadest outlines with the tradition handed down by the classical Greek historians; and the heroic figure of the great Macedonian shines in the accounts of the Arab historians as much as it did at the hands of the Greek masters.

The Arab historians selected for the present discussion are Ṭabari and Mas'ūdi (ninth-tenth century), Ibn al-Athīr (thirteenth century), and Ibn Khaldūn (fourteenth century). They are recognized as the best representative and most authoritative historians of the medieval period and of the later Middle Ages. There are, of course, many other Arab writers (and later Persian and Turkish historians and geographers) who dealt with the history of Alexander the Great and his exploits; and no doubt, a fuller treatment of this topic requires a more thorough investigation of all the available sources. Nevertheless, a close look at the accounts given by these four leading historians will satisfy our present purposes, and will serve as a short introduction to an otherwise full-fledged study of this important subject.

There are several points which the Arab historians mention in their treatment of Alexander and his period. These include such questions as:

the two chief protagonists in the struggle, namely Dārā, the last ruler of the Achaemenid empire (Darius III Codomannus, 336-330 B.C.), and Alexander; genealogical information about their descent; the causes of the war between the Greeks and the Persians; the correspondence between Dara and Alexander covering the relation between the two countries before the struggle began; the various battles fought and the number of the armies involved; the assassination of the Persian monarch and Alexander's reaction to his death; the marriage between Alexander and Roxane and its significance; the extent of Alexander's conquests; and finally Alexander's death and the division of the empire. Mention is also made of the correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle and the influence of the philosopher on the general. The accounts usually end with appreciative remarks on the reign of Alexander and his achievements.

It is important to note here that the treatment of Alexander and his period by these Arab historians is almost totally historical. In other words, there is no mention here of the so-called Alexander Romance (based primarily on Pseudo-Callisthenes). And although the Arab historians do make passing reference to Alexander's "wisdom", and do, sometimes, use the Koranic title of Dhū al-Qarnayn with reference to Alexander, the discussion of the Islamic aspects of the Alexander Romance is to be found not with the historians but chiefly with the Koran commentators who dealt extensively with the interpretation of the Koranic story preserved in Sūrah XVIII, verses 59 through 81. Therefore, this paper will not deal with this aspect of Alexander's mythology, but will be limited as much as possible to historical considerations.[1]

A. To start with the earliest of these Arab historians, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabari (838-922 A.D.) and his great universal history *Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa al-Mulūk:* his treatment of Alexander covers several points.[2] He begins the account with the accession of the Persian king Dara (i.e., Darius III) and the problems he had to overcome in order to secure his reign. He was not a very popular ruler; in fact, he alienated both the upper and the lower classes. "He was a young man, inexperienced and conceited, hot-headed, malicious, and tyrannical." (Ṭabari, I:572). Ṭabari has no such critical words for Alexander!

1. The few lines on "Alexander" by W. Montgomery Watt in *E.I.*[2] are insignificant. However, on the Alexander Romance in the Islamic sources, see "al-Khiḍr", also in *E.I.*[2], by A.J. Wensinck.

2. Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr aṭ-Ṭabari, *Tārīkh ar-Rusul wa al-Mulūk,* edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo 1960, volume I, pp. 572-79.

The main part of the story on Alexander follows immediately. Ṭabari reports it on the authority of Hishām ibn Muḥammad. This, of course, is Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi, or Ibn al-Kalbi, the celebrated authority on Arab history and lore, who died almost exactly a century before Ṭabari.[3] This account, or variants of it, is repeated (sometimes almost *verbatim)* by the other historians here considered. So, let me here give in full the Ṭabari version of it:

> "After Dārā ibn Abashīr, his son Dārā ruled for fourteen years. He mistreated his subjects, and killed their chiefs. As a result of that, Iskandar invaded his country. The people of his kingdom became tired of his rule and began to detest him; they sought comfort away from him. Many of the chiefs and leading personalities of the state deserted their king and joined Iskandar. They told Iskandar about Dārā's weaknesses, and strengthened him against Dārā. The two protagonists met in the land of al-Jazīrah (i.e., northern Iraq) and fought for a year. Some of Dārā's close associates conspired against him and killed him. When they brought his head to Iskandar he ordered their execution, saying: This is the reward of those who dare to kill their king. Then Iskandar married Dārā's daughter, Rōshanak (Roxane), and proceeded to invade India and the eastern lands of the earth. On his return, as he was heading towards Alexandria, he died in the region of as-Sawād (i.e., Sawād al-'Irāq where Babylon is located), and was carried to Alexandria in a gold coffin. His reign lasted fourteen years: the kingdom of Rūm (i.e., Greece), which was divided before Iskandar, thus became united; while the kingdom of Fārs (i.e. the Persian empire), which was united before Iskandar, became scattered." (Ṭabari, I:572-73).

This initial account by Ṭabari (on the authority of Hishām ibn Muḥammad) is further explicated "from sources other than Hishām". For example, we are told that Alexander's father, Philip, "from a country of the lands of the Greeks *(Bilād al-Yūnāniyyīn)* called *Maqdūniyyah* (Macedon), was king of that country and of other lands which he had annexed to it. He had agreed with Dārā to pay a tribute *(kharāj)* which was carried to him every year." Ṭabari, I:573). After the death of Philiph, Alexander stopped sending the annual tribute. Diplomatic correspondence between the two rulers attempted to resolve the issue. Dārā wrote to Alexan-

3. On Hishām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbi, see *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm,* edited and translated by Bayard Dodge, Columbia Un. Press, New York, 1970, I, 205-213. In this work, see also a long quotation from Abū Sahl al-Faḍl ibn Nawbakht on the material carried off by Alexander after the conquest of Persia (II, 574-75).

der reproaching him for the breach of contract, blaming it on his youth and inexperience. He sent Alexander a scepter and globe and a sack full of sesame seeds suggesting that the young man should play with the scepter and globe and not dream of kingdom and empire for which he was not suitable. Threatening, he reminded him that his troops are as numerous as the sesame seeds in the sack! Alexander wrote back telling Dārā he understood what he meant; but that he took the scepter and globe as good omens. The globe, he said, represents the world which he plans to conquer and add to his domains. As for the sesame seeds he considered them rich in food content and not bitter, thus adding to his ambitions. Instead, Alexander sent Dārā a sack of mustard seeds reminding him of the bitterness of the inevitable struggle. "When Dārā received Alexander's reply," Ṭabari adds, "he gathered together his troops and prepared to fight Iskandar, who also mobilized and set out toward Dārā's country." (Ṭabari, I:573-74).

Ṭabari then describes the fighting briefly in which Darius was defeated. He goes on to give further details about the assassination of Darius, "by two men from his bodyguard, said to be from Hamadhān (the old Ecbatana), who stabbed him from behind and pulled him down from his chariot." (Ṭabari, I:574). Alexander, we are told, had ordered that Darius should be captured alive and not killed. When Alexander was informed of Darius' death, "he walked to the place and saw him breathing his last. He sat next to him and told him what had happened was contrary to his instructions. He then asked Darius for any final request he might have. Darius made two requests: one, to take revenge from the two men who had killed him: he named them and their country; and the second, to marry his daughter Rōshanak (Roxane)" (Ṭabari, I:574). Alexander complied with both requests: he ordered the two assassins to be crucified, and he married Rōshanak and joined the lands of Darius to his own.

The account in Ṭabari now goes on to report material from less authoritative sources: "claimed to be told by persons knowledgeable about the stories of the ancients." It is clear that our historian is using this information rather cautiously. Still, he reports the seemingly apocryphal story that Darius and Alexander were actually brothers: Darius' father having been married to Alexander's mother whom, pregnant and all, he had returned to her people! He also gives a variant story about the tribute the Greeks used to send to Darius, which was in the form of golden eggs. In their correspondence about this matter, Alexander is said to have told Darius: I have killed the hen that used to lay these eggs and have eaten its meat! In retelling the story about the death of Darius, Ṭabari here adds one more request the dying king made; telling Alexander "to retain the noble men of Fārs and use them in his administration of the empire." (Ṭabari, I:575). In this connection too, Ṭabari makes the interesting remark that Alexander thanked his god for not holding him personally responsible for Darius' death (Ṭabari, I:576), Mention is here made of Alexander's "amazing" *('ajīb)* horse Bucephalas, with the mutilated but still recognizable spelling *Būkufrāsb.* Finally, Ṭabari allows himself to pass final judgement on Alexander, totally different from the one he earlier passed on Darius: "Iskandar," he tells us, "was a man of resolute nature, of strength, and of stratagem." (Ṭabari, I:576).

In the genealogical section, Ṭabari confirms Alexander's descent from Philip, but adds a long chain (introduced by the words, "it is said") relating Alexander to the biblical Abraham!

Regarding the number of troops, Ṭabari says that Alexander reviewed his army after the defeat of Darius; and "it is said" they numbered one million four hundred thousand men: 800,000 Greeks and 600,000 Persians – clearly fantastic figures! He adds, however, that Alexander destroyed the Persian fire temples, killed the Zoroastrian priests, and burned their books; but "it is said that Iskandar carried away the books of knowledge of the people of Persia, comprising the sciences, astronomy, and philosophy *(ḥikmah),* after translating them into Syriac and the Roman (i.e., Greek) language," (Ṭabari, I:577).

Turning back to the rest of Alexander's conquests, we begin to notice that Ṭabari was moving into the sphere of the "Alexander Romance". After campaigning in India, the historian tells us that Alexander moved on into China and Tibet, "and, with four hundred men, entered the dark regions in the vicinity of the North Pole, the sun to the south of him, seeking the spring of eternal youth." (Ṭabari, I:578). He returned to Iraq and died on his way at Shahrazūr. He was thirty-six years old "according to some authorities", and was carried to his mother in Alexandria.

Ṭabari concludes his account of Alexander by stating that he built twelve cities, each one named Alexandria: one near Iṣfahān, three in Khurāsān (Herāt, Merv, and Samarqand), one in Iraq for his wife Rōshanak, one in Greece for the Persians, and others elsewhere.

B. A younger contemporary of Ṭabari, 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdi in his work *Murūj adh-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar* uses slightly different sources in his account of Alexander and his period.[4] At times, he men-

4. 'Ali ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mas'ūdi, *Murūj adh-Dhahab wa Ma'ādin al-Jawhar,* Edition Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, revue et corrigé par Charles Pellat, Publications de l'Université Libanaise, Beyrouth, 1966, II, 5-23.

tions Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus?, the celebrated second century A.D. Alexandrian astronomer, mathematician, and geographer) as one of his authorities.

After telling us that Yūnān (the Arabized form of Ionian) is said to have been the brother of Qaḥṭān (the eponymous Arabian), and that the Greeks were more eloquent than the Romans, Mas'ūdi makes it a point to say that the rulers of Athens, "the city of philosophers", used to tell their successors "never to swerve away from the ideal way which is based on reason *('aql);* for whoever ignores the core and the fruit of the mind will fall into trouble and ultimate ruin." (Mas'ūdi, II:5-7). He then repeats some of the points already mentioned by Ṭabari, mentions the tribute of golden eggs, and the struggle between Darius and Alexander. He does not report on the meeting between the two protagonists, but does say that Alexander married Darius' daughter Rōshanak (Roxane). Like Ṭabari, Mas'ūdi takes Alexander to the lands of the East, to China and Tibet. On his way back, he dies at Shahrazūr, or Niṣībīn, or in Iraq. He was carried in a gold coffin to Alexandria where his mother ordered a marble mausoleum to be built for his remains. "This marble grave," adds Mas'ūdi, "is still extant in Alexandria, Egypt, known as Iskandar's tomb, until our time, which is the year 332 of the Hijrah." (Mas'ūdi, II:13). In passing, Mas'ūdi also list the genealogical chain linking Alexander with Abraham.

Mas'ūdi then quotes from as many as thirty persons who made funeral orations at Alexander's grave, ending with his wife and mother. Some of these short, often one-sentence, quotations are critical. A whole section (pp. 14-22) is next reserved to an encounter between Alexander and a wise man of India, which, though curious, must belong to the "Alexander Romance". Mas'ūdi's final statement on Alexander appreciates the gretaness of the man and his achievements:

> There are many other accounts *(akhbār)* about Iskandar in his journeys: his mediation between kingdoms, his annexation of regions, his observation of nations, his meetings with wise men of distant lands and remote countries of varying languages and strange appearances, and of differing customs and character, – accounts of wars and strategies, of clever tactics and artful deeds, and of the construction of new buildings – which we have written about in our other compositions... (Mas'ūdi, II:22-23).

Later on in this second volume of his history, Mas'ūdi devotes a whole section on the city of Alexandria (pp. 99-109), the construction of its famous lighthouse, and Alexander's actual participation in town planning and construction work. Only an expert architect or city engineer, if at all, can figure out Mas'ūdi's extremely detailed and complex account, part of which, no doubt, is legendary!

C. 'Izz ad-Dīn ibn al-Athīr (d. 1234 A.D.) in his *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh* follows more closely Ṭabari's account in his treatment of Alexander and his times.[5] In fact, in many places he repeats what Ṭabari had to say, almost word for word. Like Ṭabari, Ibn al-Athīr begins with Dārā's accession to the throne of Persia, mentions the tribute of the golden eggs and the story of the scepter and globe, as well as the myth that Alexander and Darius were brothers, and the encounter with the dying Darius. He also repeats Alexander's chain of descent from Abraham, and gives the same number of troops that Ṭabari had given. He takes Alexander to China (but oddly enough not to Tibet!), and induges in some Alexander Romance material based on quotations from Koran, XVIII:59-81 (Ibn al-Athīr, I:286-87). He then reports Alexander's death at Shahrazūr, of *khawānīq* (angina or diphtheria). As in Ṭabari, he mentions some of the twelve Alexandrias that Alexander built, and (from Mas'ūdi?) he quotes some of the one-sentence funeral orations at Alexander's grave.

One, perhaps the only, original part in Ibn al-Athīr's account is an exchange of correspondence between Alexander and Aristotle (p. 291). Ṭabari makes no mention of Aristotle in this context, and Mas'ūdi only mentions him in passing as Alexander's teacher *(mu'allim).* The correspondence in Ibn al-Athīr deals with a goverment policy matter which, apparently, Alexander was discussing with Aristotle. To secure the allegiance of his generals and associates, the teacher tells his famous student to assign to them beautiful women and insure them a life of comfort; thus their dangerous ambitions will be lulled. About the Persians, Alexander writes: "I have senn in Īrān-shahr (i.e. the land of Persia) men endowed with brains, sharpness of mind, courage, beauty, and nobility of descent" (Ibn al-Athīr, I:291); but he was not sure he could trust them. Aristotle counsels him to assign "separate kingdoms" to those of them who are fit to rule; thus they will be occupied each with his own government and with their inter-state rivalries. In this way he will secure their obedience and love since they will be beholden to him for their elevated positions.

D. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn (described by a leading orientalist as "the greatest historian of the Arabs and perhaps the greatest historical thinker of the Middle Ages"), who lived between 1332 and 1406, in his

5. 'Izz ad-Dīn ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh,* Dār Ṣādir-Dār Bayrūt, Beirut, 1965, I, 282-292.

famous history *Kitāb al-'Ibar,* devotes a long section on the Greeks and Alexander.[6] According to Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Yūnāniyyūn* are divided into *al-Gharīqiyyūn* (the Greeks) and *al-Lātīniyyūn* (the Latins or Romans), but the application of the term became limited to the Greeks only. "Of these was the famous Iskandar, one of the kings of the world". (Ibn Khaldūn, II:378).

Alexander's father, Philip, is described as a lover of philosophy: there were many philosophers *(ḥukamā')* in this country, *Maqdūniyyah* (i.e., Macedon). Meantime, the Persians conquered Syria and Egypt. Philip himself, however, planned to conquer Syria but was assassinated. Ibn Khaldūn here repeats the story of the golden eggs, and goes on to describe some of the battles between Alexander and Dārā, king of the Persians. In one of these, Ibn Khaldūn gives the figure of 60,000 as the number of Darius' army and 600,000 as that of Alexander's – the reverse is probably more correct. The conquest of Jerusalem is mentioned, where Alexander offered a sacrifice (Ibn Khaldūn, II:382). More details about this incident are given earlier in this volume of *Kitāb al-'Ibar* (pp. 227-28). There we are told the Cōhen accompanied Alexander into the temple and blessed him, and Alexander said he would like to place a gold statue of himself there. The Cōhen protested saying it would be unlawful, and counseled Alexander to pay more attention to the priests and the worshippers, promising that every newborn child that year will be called Iskandar. Later, in an apparently political move, Alexander visited Nābulous (Neapolis, the chief central town in Palestine) and met Sinbalāṭ, the Samaritan, whom the people of Jerusalem had driven out of their city and to whom Alexander gave permission to build a temple for his followers.

Following the conquest of Persia, Alexander, according to Ibn Khaldūn, marched eastwards into Sind, India and China. Ob his return, he died in Babylon, "said to have been poisoned" (p. 383). He was forty-two years of age, and had ruled twelve years: seven before the death of Darius, and five after that.

Ibn Khaldūn mentions briefly Alexander's correspondence with Aristotle who advised his former student "to place kingship over the Persians in the hands of the lower class *(asāfil)* and rule them on the basis of *divide et impera"* (p. 382). Alexander, we are told, wrote to the kings of every district: Persians, Nabataeans, and Arabs, confirming each in his region where their rule became hereditary.

In his famo''s *Muqaddimah* (Prolegomena, which constitutes the first volume of his history), Ibn Khaldūn, in the course of his discussion of the theory of "royal authority" *(mulk),* mentions the type of government Alexander established in his far-flung empire:

> I mean (says Ibn Khaldūn) that there are rulers of provincial and remote regions who rule their own people but also obey the central power of the dynasty... Such was the relationship of the... rulers of the (old) Persian successor states with Alexander and his Greeks. (Ibn Khaldūn, I:333-34; Fr. Rosenthal's translation, I:380-82).

E. I claim no originality of research in the classical Greek and Latin sources on Alexander. Evidently, anyone who wants to follow up on the Arab historians and their treatment of Alexander will have to start way back there! However, research on Alexander and his period by Western scholars has been so extensive and so voluminous as to leave almost no room for new findings – except perhaps a reenterpretation of the sources accentuating different aspects of the complex personality of the great man.[7] These "early" sources include Diodorus (mid-first century B.C.), Quintus Curtius (a Latin author of the mid-first century A.D.), Plutarch (early second century A.D.), Justin (second century A.D.), and finally Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander,* "the most complete and reliable account" (written about the mid-second century A.D.). Many of these sources, although written several centuries after the events, contain bits and pieces of information some of which by contemporary persons: Callisthenes who was Aristotle's nephew, Cleitarchus who wrote in the third century B.C., and Ptolemy who succeeded Alexander as ruler of Egypt. All this primary material has been carefully combed for every shred of evidence by modern historians. The earliest accounts written in Arabic belong to the ninth century A.D., the sources for which may be traced to an oral tradition which found expression even in the Koran.

The material in the Arab historians (outlined briefly above) may be compared with the writings of Western scholars who based their conclusions on the classical authorities. The Correspondence between Darius and Alexander, for example, belongs to a later period when Darius attempted to ransom his mother, wife and daughters captured during the battle of Issus. Alexander demanded that Darius "must write as a subject

6. 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *Kitāb al-'Ibar...,* Dār al-Kitāb al-Lubnāni, Beirut, 1956, II, 379-395.

7. Of the works on Alexander by Western scholars, the following were consulted: W.W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great* (volume I, "Narrative", volume II, "Sources and Studies"), Cambridge Un. Press, Cambridge, 1948; Ulrich Wilcken, *Alexander the Great,* transl. G.C. Richards, with preface, introduction, notes and bibliography by Eugene N. Borza, Norton & Co., New York 1967; Ch. A. Robinson, *Alexander the Great:* The Meeting of East and West in World Government and Brotherhood, Dutton & Co., New York 1947; and Robin Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great,* The Dial Press, London 1974.

to his lord" (Tarn, 37). The family was treated well, and Alexander "himself never set eyes on Darius' wife, nor allowed her beauty to be alluded to before him" (Tarn, 28). He later did marry one of Darius' daughters, Stateira, as part of the great feast at Susa where marriages between Greeks and Persians were encouraged to symbolize the unity of the empire. Roxane (Rōshanak of the Arabic sources) whom Alexander married earlier, and with whom he "fell passionately in love" (Wilcken, 161), was not Darius' daughter but the daughter of the Bactrian prince Oxyartes.[8] She bore him a son who was murdered during the struggle for succession after Alexander's death. (The Arab historians mention his name as Iskandarūs.)[9]

About Darius' assassination, it was the handiwork of two Bactrian chiefs, Barsaëntes and Satibarzanes: the former was subsequently put to death by Alexander, and the latter was at first pardoned but was killed later in a skirmish near the Oxus. On the meeting between Alexander and the dying Darius, we are told:

> A Macedonian gave Darius a cup of water; he died before Alexander came up. It was Alexander's one piece of mere good fortune; he was saved the embarrassment of dealing with his rival. (This reflects Ṭabari's remark, above p. 5, that Alexander thanked his god for not holding him personally responsible for Darius' death). He covered the body with his purple cloak, and sent it to Persepolis for burial. (Tarn, 57-58).

The exact number of troops engaged in the hostilities is always a problem for historians to resolve. Darius' army "did not number 600,000 men, and did not include 30,000 Greeks... At Issus (it) may have been somewhat larger than Alexander's, but it may equally well have been smaller as one well-informed source asserts," (says Tarn, 25-26 and n. 1). The figures given by the Arab historians are equally exaggerated. Also, the story that Alexander visited Jerusalem and sacrificed in the Temple belongs to legend (Tarn, 41).

The extent of Alexander's conquests to include China and points east

8. "Tradition naturally represents him as in love with her, but it is doubtful if he ever cared for any woman except his terrible mother" (Tarn, 76). "Nobody could have guessed that a pupil of Aristotle, who had once refused to take a wife, would fall passionately in love with a lady from outer Iran..." (Fox, 317).

9. "So far as the record goes, he had no mistress. He was married twice, for reasons of policy; to Roxane, the daughter of a powerful Iranian baron, and to a daughter of Darius, the Persian king. By Roxane only did he have a child, born after his death, who, with its mother, was killed a dozen years later." (Robinson, 38).

is unrealistic in the Arab historians. Alexander's eastern campaigns were limited to the upper valley of the Indus River and its tributaries. He then moved south towards the estuary of the river, then west back to Persepolis, Susa, and Babylon where he died, "struck down by a fever, which his constitution, weakened by over-exertion and wounds, could not throw off" (Tarn, 120). Part of the army came back by sea under Nearchus who sailed through the Straits of Hormuz and sighted the Arabian shores. Apparently before his death, Alexander made plans for the conquest of "Arabia", but these did not materialize (Tarn, 118-119). The Arab historians make no mention of this.

Alexander's relation with Aristotle was more complex than the few references in the Arab historians. Expressing his views on the war with Persia, "Aristotle called it essentially just, and told his pupil to treat barbarians as what they were – slaves" (Tarn, 9). But, reflecting the judgement of the Arab historians, "it was to be left to Alexander himself to rise to a higher level than Plato and Aristotle" *(Ibid.)*. This was the "union of hearts" (the Greek *Homonoia)*, "a joint commonwealth where all peoples were to be partners rather than subjects", which was Alexander's greatest achievement.

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The Medieval Shipwreck at Serçe Limani: An Early 11th-century Fatimid-Byzantine Commercial Voyage

During the summers of 1977 through 1979, the Institute of Nautical Archaeology *(INA)* excavated a medieval ship wrecked at Serçe Limani, a natural harbor on the Turkish coast directly north of Rhodes.[1] The approximate date of the ship's sinking is fixed by copper coins that are later 'anonymous' issues of Basil II (976-1025) and by Fāṭimid glass weights, the latest of which date to either 415 AH (1024/25) or possibly 412 AH (1021/22).[2] The sinking therefore occurred during the 3rd decade of the 11th century, a time of improving Fāṭimid-Byzantine relations, affirmed by the treaty of 1027.[3]

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1. Preliminary excavation reports include G.F. Bass and F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., "An 11th century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey" *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 7 (1978) 119-132; G.F. Bass, "The shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey," *Archaeology* 33 (1979) 36-43; F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., "An 11th century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey: 1978-81," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 11 (1982) 7-11; and G.F. Bass, J.R. Steffy, and F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., "Excavation of an 11th-century shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey," *National Geographic Society Research Reports, 1976 Projects* (Washington 1984) 161-182. The excavation was made possible by funds from the Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Texas A&M University, the National Geographic Society, the National Science Foundation, the Corning Glass Works Foundation, the John Brown Cook Foundation, and F. Alex Nason. Conservation and study of the ship and its contents have been supported by the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the National Geographic Society, Ashland Oil Inc., the Shell Chemical Co. in Turkey, Mr. and Mrs. J.E. Jonsson through the Texas A&M Development Foundation, and Nixon Griffis.

2. Glass weights recovered from the shipwreck, identified by Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society, are all Fāṭimid and date to the reigns of al-'Azīz (975-996), al-Ḥākim (996-1020), and al-Ẓāhir (1020-1035).

3. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 80.

The ship, a two-masted lateener of only 15 meters overall length, had a spacious, box-like hold of about 37 metric tons capacity.[4] Both in design and construction,[5] the vessel has proven to be a forerunner of the Mediterranean *navis* of late medieval times. Its remains are presently being reassembled for display at the archaeological museum in Bodrum, Turkey.

The Fāṭimid period was one of expanding commercial activity and relatively free trade in the Mediterranean. Wholesale merchants, faced with ever-changing prices for commodities, minimized their risk by dealing in a sometimes remarkable diversity of goods,[6] a practice well illustrated by the diversity of cargoes on the Serçe Limani ship.[7]

One of the larger cargoes was approximately three tons of glass cullet, two tons of it simply chunks of raw glass. The rest consisted of waste produced during various stages in the manufacture of glassware and between 10,000 and 20,000 broken glassware vessels, representing over 200 different vessel types. That this glassware was already broken before the ship sank is absolutely certain, since the hold could not have begun to accommodate it in an unbroken state. Sorting and mending of the glassware cullet has so far produced over 200 fairly complete vessels

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4. For a description and analysis of the hull, see J.R. Steffy, "The reconstruction of the 11th century Serçe Liman vessel. A preliminary report," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 11 (1982) 13-34; for the ship's rig, see S. Matthews, *The rig of the eleventh-century ship at Serçe Liman, Turkey* (M.A. thesis, Texas A&M University, 1982).

5. The ship is particularly noteworthy in being presently the earliest-known example of a seagoing vessel built in the 'modern' skeletal-first manner. A skeletal framework of keel, stem, sternpost and ten midship frames was erected first. The overall hull shape was obtained by fastening to this framework a narrow band of bottom and side planking on either side of the hull. The remaining frames could then be shaped and installed, after which the planking of the hull was completed. Very much the same procedure is followed in Mediterranean shipyards today, wooden battens rather than narrow bands of planking being employed to obtain overall hull shape.

6. S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society I: Economic foundations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967) 153-155.

7. Rather diverse cargoes, all including pithoi, amphoras, millstones and a variety of ceramic wares, occur on three 10th-century shipwrecks that have been investigated off the southern coast of France at Agay (A. Visquis, "Premier inventaire du mobilier de l'épave dite 'Des Jarres' a Agay," *Cahiers d'archeologie subaquatique* 2 (1973) 157-166), Bataiguier (J. Joncheray, "Le navire de Bataiguier, une épave du haut moyen-âge." *Archeologia* 85 (1973) 42-48), and Rocher de l'Estéou (S. Ximenes, "Étude préliminaire de l'épave sarrazine du Rocher de l'Estéou," *Cahiers d'archeologie subaquatique* 5 (1976) 139-150).

and over 300 complete vessel profiles.[8]

The ship was also carrying some 80 or more intact glass vessels, including a matching bottle and beaker decorated with engraved lions.[9] The glass of the intact vessels and most of the glassware cullet is homogeneous in appearance, and additional examples of many of the intact vessels occur in the glassware cullet. Best parallels for the glassware are consistantly Islamic but do not presently point to any specific place of origin.[10]

The cargoes included modest numbers of various ceramic wares. A half dozen thin-walled *gargoulettes* of white fabric have filters with delicate fretwork and pseudo-Kufic designs characteristic of Fātimid *gargoulettes* made in Egypt. Some 3 dozen thin-walled cooking pots and several baking-dishes have an often purplish-red fabric and a dark, lead glaze on their interior surface. Although close parallels for these cooking pots and baking-dishes have not as yet been found, they would appear to be examples of a general type of lead-glazed kitchen ware widely used in the Levant during the Crusades and already produced in Palestine, and quite possible in Syria, during the Fatimid period.[11]

Particularly noteworthy are 44 splash-ware and sgraffito-ware glazed bowls. On of the sgraffito-ware bowls is decorated with a band containing a Kufic inscription which repeats the word *yumn,* or 'happiness', around the bowl's interior circumference.[12] The bowls are Islamic, but parallels sufficiently close to suggest possible places of origin have not yet been found. The Serçe Limani bowls present in any case some important new evidence relevent to the development and chronology of Islamic glazed wares. Conventional chronology would assign a 9th-century date to splash-ware bowls similar in decoration to those carried by

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8. For some recent observations concerning the glassware cullet, see G.F. Bass, "The nature of the Serçe Limanı glass," *Journal of Glass Studies* 26 (1984) 64-69. Extensive chemical analysis of the glass cullet being carried out by Dr. Robert Brill, Research Scientist at the Corning Museum of Glass, indicates that the chunks of raw glass, waste material, and well over 90% of the glassware cullet have a generally uniform composition and could have been made at a single factory or at closely-related factories.

9. The bottle is very similar to a lion bottle from Kairouan: G. Marçais and L. Poinssot, *Objects kairouanais,* vol. 2 (Tunis 1952) 379-382.

10. Bass (supra n. 8) 69, n. 9.

11. D. Pringle, "Medieval pottery from Caesarea: The Crusader period," *Levant* 17 (1985) 176-177; A. Lane, "Medieval finds at Al Mina in North Syria," *Archaeologia* 87 (1937) 41.

12. Personal communication (March 1985) from Dr. Marilyn Jenkins, Associate Curator of Islamic Art at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, who is studying the glazed bowls and jewelry from the Serçe Limani wreck.

the Serçe Limanı ship. Recently, however, a 10th- or early 11th-century date for such bowls has been proposed,[13] and this later date would now appear to be confirmed. If sgraffito ware did not make its first appearance until the end of the 10th century, as has been recently argued,[14] the Serçe Limanı sgraffito bowls must be quite early examples of such ware in the Mediterranean. Surprisingly, the sgraffito designs are rather deeply carved in the champlevé fashion. The dating of Islamic champlevé ware has been based on the assumption that the technique of deep carving did not first appear until the 12th century, and then in Eastern Islamic contexts.[15] Here again, the need for a reassessment of conventional chronology is indicated.

The ship was carrying some 80 piriform amphoras, most of which must have been cargo and probably carried wine. These amphoras are of a Byzantine type in common use between the 9th and 11th centuries. Such amphoras have been found in South Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Constantinople,[16] on shipwrecks along the western and southern coasts of Turkey,[17] and at Antioch in Syria[18] and Fusṭāṭ in Egypt.[19] Other Byzantine transport amphoras included six concave-bottomed amphoras of a type found in South Russia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Constantinople and Athens,[20] and a half dozen small, piriform amphoras with pointed bottoms of a type found in South Russia, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Constantinople,[21] at Antioch,[22] and off the coast of Lebanon.[23] Only a few of the transport amphoras are not Byzantine; they include two bag-shaped amphoras of a general type long used in Palestine.[24]

Other cargoes[25] included a small amount (less than 1 kg was recovered) of the arsenic ore, orpiment; two pairs of small, rotary millstones; and possibly lentils, raisins, and perhaps other dried fruits.

In keeping with normal practice,[26] very little actual money appears to have been present on the ship. Only three gold coins, all Fāṭimid quarter *dinars* of al-Ḥākim, and 15 clippings from Islamic gold coins were recovered; no silver coins were found. Some 40 copper coins recovered are in all legible instances Byzantine. Items of jewelry, including a half dozen silver signet rings and a gold earring, were in most cases found in close association with coins and probably served as bullion, which merchants preferred to carry in the form of jewelry.[27] The earring is Fāṭimid and was probably made in Syria.[28]

Present speculation about where the cargoes were brought on board the ship can only be quite tentative. Perhaps they were taken on at more than one place, in which case, the voyage may have begun as far away as Egypt. If, on the other hand, only one port of embarkation was involved, present evidence points to the Fāṭimid coast of Syria.

The Palestine-Lebanese coast continued in the Fāṭimid period to be one of the most important centers for the manufacture and export of glass in the Eastern Mediterranean.[29] The glass of this area was famous for its unusually fine quality,[30] making it particularly desirable even as cullet. The same area was renowned for its fine wines[31] and dried fruits[32] and was also a major exporter of millstones.[33] The earring was probably

13. H. Philon, *Early Islamic ceramics. Ninth to late twelfth centuries* (Westerham 1980) 36.

14. R. Schnyder, "Mediaeval incised and carved wares from North West Iran," in W. Watson, ed., *The art of Iran and Anatolia from the 11th to the 13th century A.D.* (Colloquies on art and archaeology in Asia no. 4) 90.

15. Philon (supra n. 13) 284.

16. These are the Group II amphoras in Z. Brusić, "Byzantine aphorae (9th to 12th century) from eastern Adriatic underwater sites," *Archaelogia Iugoslavica* 17 (1979) 39-40. See also J. Čangova, "Srednovekovni amphori v Bulgaria," *Izvestia na arceologiceskaja Institut* 22 (1959) 250, 261 and fig. 5.

17. A shipwreck carrying amphoras of this type was discovered off Hayirsız Ada in the Sea of Marmara by an *INA* shipwreck survey in 1984. Amphoras of this type brought to the Bodrum Museum by sponge divers appear to have come from at least several different wrecks.

18. F. Waagé, ed., *Antioch-on-the-Orontes,* vol. 4, part 1: *Ceramics and Islamic coins* (Princeton 1948) 103 and fig. 96.

19. G. Scanlon, "Preliminary report: Excavations at Fustat, 1964," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 4 (1965) 20 and fig. 30.

20. Group I in Brusić (supra n. 16) 38-39.

21. Group IV in Brusić (supra n. 16) 41; Čangova (supra n. 17) 251, 262 and fig. 4, 4-5.

22. Waagé (supra n. 18).

23. Z. Amadouny, *Le site archéologique sub-aquatique d'el Mina Tripoli-Liban* (1973) plate 3, T 11.

24. A. Zemer, *Storage jars in ancient sea trade* (Haifa 1977) 66.

25. One or more perishable cargoes in the forward half of the hold had disappeared without leaving any identifying traces. This 'ghost' cargo must have at least equalled the known cargoes in weight, since the ship would otherwise have been dangerously underladen and hopelessly out of trim.

26. S. Goitein, *Letters of medieval Jewish traders* (Princeton 1973) 47, n. 12.

27. Goitein (supra n. 6) 108.

28. Personal communication (March 1985) from Marilyn Jenkins.

29. Goitein (supra n. 6) 109-110 and Lane (supra n. 11) 64.

30. W. Heyd, *Histoire de commerce du Levant au Moyen-Âge,* vol. 1 (Leipzig 1885) 179-180.

31. Heyd (supra n. 30) 177.

32. Goitein (supra n. 6) 121 and 154; Heyd (supra n. 30) 177-178.

33. Goitein (supra n. 6) 60, 153 and 210.

from Syria and quite possibly the cooking ware and orpiment as well.[34]

Lead isotope studies indicate that lead in some of the samples taken from glass cullet, glazed bowls and fishing-net weights have isotopic ratios identical to lead from a mine located northwest of Tehran in Iran.[35] This would appear to favor a Levantine place of manufacture for these particular artifacts.

The presence of so many Byzantine amphoras on the ship poses no difficulty in hypothesizing a Palestine-Lebanese port of embarkation. Transport amphoras were often reused,[36] and new graffiti carved over older ones on some of the piriform amphoras suggests at the very least a change of ownership.

It would appear more likely than not that the ship's home port was in Fāṭimid waters. Two of eight iron anchors on board have stamps. One bears an Arabic inscription, unfortunately badly defaced; the other takes the form of a tri-lobed flower. The only ceramic lamp recovered is Fāṭimid,[37] and isotopic ratios favor a Levantine origin for the ship's fishing-net weights.

The merchants to whom the Byzantine transport amphoras and cooking-ware cargo belonged were apparently Greeks. Graffiti appearing on the amphoras without exception consist of Greek letters, including the name Leon, and monograms. One of the monograms also occurs on cargo cooking ware and a non-Byzantine amphora, a clear indication that the person represented was somehow involved with this particular voyage. Pork bones, including several found inside a merchant's personal cooking pot, suggest the presence of Christians, as do Christian

34. Syrian and Cypriote cargoes on a 14th-century B.C. shipwreck presently being excavated by *INA* off the southern coast of Turkey near Kaş (G.F. Bass, D.A. Frey, and C. Pulak, "A Late Bronze Age shipwreck at Kaş, Turkey," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 13 (1984) 271-279) include, interestingly enough, both orpiment and glass cullet.

35. For a preliminary report on the lead isotope studies, see I. Barnes, R. Brill, E. Deal, and G. Piercy, "Lead isotope studies of some finds from the Serçe Limani shipwreck," in *Proceedings of the International Archaeometry Symposium, 1984* (Smithsonian Institution, in press).

36. The transport amphoras on a 7th-century Byzantine shipwreck at Yassi Ada, Turkey (G.F. Bass and F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., eds., *Yassi Ada* I: *A seventh-century Byzantine shipwreck* (Texas A&M University Press 1982) constitute an interesting example of reuse. A restudy of these amphoras now in progress has yielded evidence that they had been used at least once or twice earlier on and that some had been in existence for as long as over two decades.

37. The lamp, originally covered with a green glaze, belongs to W. Kubiak's Type B at Fusṭāṭ: "Medieval ceramic oil lamps from Fusṭāṭ," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970) 6-8, with text fig. 3 a-b and figs. 2-4.

symbols and inscriptions on some of the fishing-net weights.

I am presently inclined to think that both the merchants and crew were, at least in substantial part, Christian Greeks whose primary place of residence, however, was probably within Fāṭimid waters. Noteworthy is the fact that the 16 glass coin weights and two sets of balance-pan weights recovered from the wreck were probably all based on the Fāṭimid *dinar* dirham standards of weight.[38] The real value of groups of coins belonging to any currency could have been determined with these glass and balance-pan weights,[39] but the merchants on the Serçe Limanı ship apparently prefered to use Fāṭimid currency as their standard of reference. A close association with Islamic society is also suggested by the presence of a chess set on board; the game was known but apparently little played in the Byzantine world at this time.[40] A bronze sword hilt from the wreck is perhaps a fitting symbol of the cross-cultural ties of those on the ship. The hilt is Romano-Byzantine in form, but the grip is on either face decorated with an elaborately-feathered bird of Indian iconographical origin. It is presently uncertain whether the sword is of Byzantine or Islamic manufacture.[41]

There seems little doubt that the ship was headed for a glass-making center in Byzantine waters. One thinks, for example, of Corinth, where two glass factories, both dated to the 11th and 12th centuries, have been excavated.[42] The fact that all unduplicated examples of broken glassware found in the factories, including a Fāṭimid glass weight of al-Mustanṣir, appeared to be Egyptian in character led the excavator to

38. The glass weights include 1/8, 1/4, 1/2, 1, and 2 *dirham* and 1 *dinar* weights. For a preliminary interpretation of the weight standards of the two sets of balance-pan weights, see G.F. Bass, "A medieval Islamic merchant venture," *Archaeological News* 8 (1979) 91.

39. Michael Bates has presented evidence indicating that a single weight standard could be used when making payments in coins of any weight standard including foreign coins and that large groups of coins could be weighed by using a combination of balance-pan and glass weights: "The function of Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid glass weights," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24 (1981) 73 and 80.

40. This is the conclusion reached, after a review of both the literary and archaeological evidence, by Kenneth Cassavoy, a Texas A&M graduate student who is studying the chessmen, as well as a backgammon tableman, recovered from the wreck.

41. Personal communication (March 1985) from Joseph Schwarzer, a University of Pennsylvania graduate student who is studying the weapons (swords, lances and javelins) on the ship.

42. G. Davidson, "A mediaeval glass-factory at Corinth," *American Journal of Archaeology* 44 (1940) 296-324; G.D. Weinberg, "A medieval mystery: Byzantine glass production," *Journal of Glass Studies* (1975) 127-141.

hypothesize that the factories had been established by Greek immigrants from Egypt.[43] I personally think it more likely that the glassware was simply imported cullet.

The maritime importation of cullet from major glass-making centers to smaller factories made good sense. Cullet could be shipped in place of ballast and thus at a low freight rate.[44] Since the glass itself did not have to be made, smaller, less-sophisticated furnaces and less fuel were required.[45] We know from 13th-century written sources that even distant Venice found it advantageous to import cullet from the Levant.[46]

The commerce represented by the Serçe Limanı ship may have been quite substantial and far-ranging. A shipwreck with Byzantine transport amphoras, orpiment, and raw-glass, glass-waste, and glassware cullet quite similar to that from Serçe Limani was discovered by the Institute last year just 30 km east of Serçe Limani,[47] and another shipwreck, dated to between the 2nd half of the 9th and the end of the 10th century, with a cargo of Byzantine transport amphoras and intact glassware of probably Levantine origin was discovered just a decade ago off the island of Mljet on the coast of Yugoslavia.[48] A true picture of the nature and scope of this commerce can only be won with a substantial contribution from shipwreck archaeology. One can only hope that the almost universal neglect of this precious source of knowledge will not long continue.

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43. Davidson (supra n. 42) 323-324 and Weinberg (supra n. 42) 141.

44. J. Dotson, *Freight rates and shipping practices in the medieval Mediterranean* (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1969) 191-192.

45. To make glass, a temperature of approximately 2600 degrees F. is required; to soften glass, a temperature of only 2000 degrees F. I am grateful to Robert Carriger, a student at Stanford University, for pointing out the advantage of using cullet.

46. Robert Brill informs me that an agreement made by Boemondo VII, Prince of Antiochia, with Venice in 1277 stipulates that the Venetians would have to pay a tax on all cullet exported from Tripoli in Syria; the source for this information is not presently available to me.

47. I am indebted to Cemal Pulak, a graduate student at Texas A&M University, who revisited the site in June of this year to obtain additional information for this paper.

48. V. Han and Z. Brusić, "Une découverte sous-marine du verre médiéval dans l'Adriatique," *Annales du 7e Congrès International d'Étude Historique du Verre* (Liège 1978) 271-282; Brusić (supra n. 16) 37-49.

Continuation and changes in Umayyad Egypt as reflected in the terms and titles of the Greek Papyri

The Arab conquest of Egypt - as has been reasonably conjectured - did not abruptly disrupt the administrative machine and social life of this country. Nevertheless, the forces of changes were already at work from the beginning. It is noteworthy that a large number of terms in the Greek papyri continued to be used for about a century, betraying a continuation at least partly of old traditions, while a number of other terms became simply vehicles for expressing new functions created by the Arab rule. A systematic study of all these terms could illuminate many facets of the still obscure history of Early Arab Egypt (A.J. Butler's book, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt,* ed. P.M. Fraser, Oxford 1978, is now obsolete. There are numerous important works dealing with partial problems; see the relevant bibliography in my article "Miṣr" in EI^{2} 1991).

Σαρακηνοί - Ἄραβες, Καμηλῖται, Μωαγαρῖται

There is voluminous literature on the term "Σαρακηνοί", its origin meaning dispersion. D. Graf has fully treated many aspects of this term (1978; Graf and M. O'Connor, 1977), while valuable information appears also in the works of Th.S. Parker (1986), Ph. Mayerson (1987), G.W. Bowersock (1983) and I. Shahid (1984, 123-141). But little has been written on the application of this term by the Arabs themselves - through their local scribes - as it appears in numerous papyri from Arab Egypt and Nessana.

In general the Byzantine authors use the term "Σαρακηνοί" either in a restricted sense, i.e., nomad Arabs, corresponding to the word "σκηνῖται Ἄραβες", or as a generic name applied to all Arabs, used as a synonym with "Ἄραβες" (Christides, 1969, 324). Occasionally "Σαρακηνοί" acquires derogatory meaning and even some false

etymologies are invented by the Byzantine authors in order to mock them (Christides, 1969, 319; 1972).

Of course, all references in the Greek papyri to "Σαρακηνοί" in Islamic Egypt and Nessana have no such traces of any derogatory meaning and along with the term "Ἄραβες" is used as a generic name for the Moslem conquerors.

It should be noticed that in Nessana during the Byzantine times nomad Arabs who served as guides, along with their camels, in the desert are called "Σαρακηνοί" (see for example, Pap. Ness. 89, line 22). In contrast, after the Arab conquest the camel drivers of Nessana are no longer called Σαρακηνοί. Thus in Pap. Ness., 74, 4-5 (dated by the editor to ca. 685) there is reference to "δύο καμίλια καί δύο ἐργάτας", i.e., two camels and two [camel workers], and in Pap. Ness. 73 (ca. 683), the Arab camel driver is simply called "ἄνθρωπος" (=a person). Likewise in Arab Egypt the term used for camel drivers is the professional καμηλίτης. (See for example Pap. Rem. 89, 6).

The most conspicuous example of the general meaning which the term "Σαρακηνοί" had acquired is manifested in its use for land surveys; thus we meet the expression "γηωμετρία τῶν Σαρακηνῶν", i.e., land measure by the Arabs, corresponding to the previous Byzantine βασιλική γεωμετρία, i.e. "imperial land surveys" (Pap. Lond. 1674, 30).

In contrast the common form for dating according to the Moslem calendar is the expression κατ' Ἄραβας ἔτους, i.e., according to the Moslem calendar. (See for ex. Pap. Ness. 60, 14; 65, 12).

Under the new Arab rule the Moslem army undertook certain police duties, especially for the secure transportation of gold taxes, important messages of high officials and special trusted duties. These Moslem courriers are called simply Σαρακηνοί. The most impressive distinction which the term Σαρακηνός acquires is when it is used in some papyri of Egypt as a surname of a certain official carrying the title "ἐπικείμενος τῶν φυγάδων" (Pap. Lond. 1521) who acquired great power almost identical with that of the dux (see below ἐπικείμενος τῶν φυγάδων). H. Cadel (1967, 135), in a thorough study in which he carefully scrutinized many papyri from Aphrodito, expresses the strange view that "l'epithète de Σαρακηνός serait aberrante pour qualifier un duc". Why? There is not the slightest nuance of any bad connotation in the use of the term Σαρακηνός by the Egyptian scribes for their Moslem masters.

Frequently the word Μωαγαρίται (=Muhājirūn, the Moslem Arab settlers) is used instead of Σαρακηνοί. These Μωαγαρίται resided mainly but not exclusively in Fusṭāṭ (see for example Pap. Lond. 1335, 5, "Μωαγαριτῶν τοῦ Φοσσάτου"). When these Μωαγαρίται were simple carriers, they were more specifically called "γραμματηφόροι Μωαγαρίται" (letter carriers) (Pap. Rem. 3, 1).

"Μωαγαρίται" (Muhājirūn) must be also understood under the term "ἀπόστολος", used for the special messengers of the emir (Pap. Rem. 1382, 16; Pap. Lond. 1394, 14; 1399, 12 and 1351, 3) where the Arabic name of the "ἀπόστολος", "Ζεείδ" (=Sayd) appears.

Στρατιῶται

While Moslem soldiers appear with these appellations, it is to be noticed that the actual Greek word for soldiers, στρατιῶται, is used only for armed messengers, a form of gendarme. The high Arab officials, i.e, the emir, the topoteretes, the pagarch, were also served with στρατιῶται, who undetook such duties as the searching of fugitives or the transportation of prisoners. (Pap. Rem. 9, 4; 18, 9). In Pap. Rem. 9, 3-4, a στρατιώτης bears the Christian name of Sergios, revealing that this gendarme was recruited from the local Egyptian population. Likewise in Pap. Rem. 33,2, a στρατιώτης is called Φοιβάμμων and another in Pap. Lond. 1671, 5 is named Ἀδριανός.

Βερεδάριοι and the Large Estates

Some scattered references to another type of courriers appear in the Greek papyri, i.e., the Βερεδάριοι. This word comes from the Arabic *barīd,* name used for the Arab official of post service which acquired great efficiency during the late Umayyad period and especially the Abbāsid. Its function under the supervision of the director of the department of the Post (ṣāḥib diwān al-barīd) included intelligence. (See "Barīd" in *EI*[2]). These βερεδάριοι bear Arab names; thus in Pap. Lond. 1336, 15, dated to A.D. 709, the βερεδάριος is called Αβου Αμερ. In this papyrus the βερεδάριος carries a special message from the governor Ḳurrah to Basil, the pagarch of Aphrodito, concerning a caulker to be paid by the treasury of Fuṣṭāṭ. In Pap. Rem. 27, dated by the editor to 713, the βερεδάριος carries a message from the governor of Latopolis, who resided in Antinopolis, to the pagarch Papas, transmitted through Elias, the secretary of the topoteretes (lieutenant of the governor).

Of greater interest is the reference to a βερεδάριος in Pap. Rem. 64, 4. It raises the complex problem of the function of public and/or private post service in both seventh-century Byzantine and Early Arab Egypt and moreover the relevant problem of the power of the large estates at the same period.

The existence of private post in Byzantine Egypt has been considered as a manifestation of one of the many usurped imperial public offices by the land magnates. Although it is an exaggeration to call the owners of large estates in Egypt feudal or semi-feudal lords, there is no doubt that they concentrated great power in their hands. (For this problem in addition to the pioneering works of M. Gelzer, 1909 and E.R. Hardy, 1931, see I. Fikhman, 1965, 1970 and B. Bachrach, 1967).

I believe that J. Gascou's recent work properly interprets the complex situation which existed in Egypt in the most persuasi·se way, arguing that certain public functions had been undertaken and not usurped by the land magnates in the form of liturgies, i.e., as a service to the state. Thus for example there was not any private Post but the facilities provided by the state were often run by the wealthy landlords who undertook their fiscal burden. (Gascou, 1985, 54 ff.). Likewise, the wealthy landlords had undertaken the fiscal burden of the βουκελλάριοι who acted as police and/or army (Gascou, 1976).

The large estates, in contrast to Dennet's assertion (1959, 90), do not disappear in early Islamic Egypt. Wealthy landlords frequently appear as benefactors to the Church (Wipszycka, 1972). The most conspicuous examples appear in Pap. Rem. 78 and 98 where the landlords, who formed integral part of the administrative machine, still possessed their own bakeries, a number of camels and numerous personnel.

It is to be noticed that these landlords still had full access, like their predecessors in Byzantine Egypt, to the public transportation. In Pap. Rem. 64, the Public Post with its horse service (βερέδοις), was used at will by a landlord to transport a construction worker quickly and safely. Again public and private Post seemed to be interwoven.

Βουκελλάριοι

The reference in Pap. 30, 1 to a βουκελλάριος who is a local person bearing the name Καλλίνικος is of great interest, but somewhat unwittingly the editor Rémondon jumped into the conclusion that it shows that the Byzantine institution of the βουκελλάριοι had survived. Actually the Byzantine haughty βουκελλάριοι who occasionally abused their power and committed atrocious acts (Pap. Cairo Masp. 67002) had little in common with the βουκελλάριοι of Arab Egypt who were simply another category of armed messengers of the lower rank like the στρατιῶται.

(For the Byzantine βουκελλάριοι see J. Maspero, 1912, passim, Gascou, 1976).

Ναῦται (δημόσιοι γραμματηφόροι καράβων, μάχιμοι), Ἐπικείμενος των Φυγάδων

The river Nile has been traditionally used as an important route of transportation for freight and passengers in Egypt. Private and public ships and sailors cris crossed Egypt in Hellenistic times. The public sailors at that time were known as βασιλικοί ναῦτες. In Byzantine times again we notice the existence of such public vessels with their sailors, now called "δημόσιοι ναῦτες". The complex problem of the function of private and public ships and sailors and their interrelationship during the Byzantine times still remains in the realm of speculation. (See Rouillard, 1928, 113, 203; Gascou, 1985, 42 ff., 52 ff.). It seems that in addition to the sailors of the ships of the Nile in Byzantine Egypt there was a number of marines, i.e., sailors trained also as soldiers, operating especially on the Egyptian-Nubian border where the Beja-Blemmyes were active in the 6th and 7th centuries (Christides, 1980; Török, 1988). Maspero (1912, 56) interprets all references in the papyri to these ναῦται - στρατιῶται as representing border soldiers who were simultaneously professional private sailors, but it is more plausible that they formed a permanent protective naval military unit, stationed on the island of Elephantine and the nearby area.

After the Arab invasion, numerous references in the Greek papyri to γραμματηφόροι ναῦται (letter carrying sailors), testify to the continuation of the naval post service while through private and/or public ships top administrators move at ease demanding preparation and repairs of the necessary vessels. (See Pap. Rem. 23, 1). More impressive is the continuation of the undertaking of the expenses for the sailors of the river Nile by the local autorities. (See the list of the expenses of the ναῦται in Pap. Rem. 75, 1).

The most conspicuous change in the recruitment of Egyptian sailors in Arab Egypt is the permanent requisition of the Moslem authorities from every district of a number of sailors which was satisfied either by personal service or by a replacement financed by the person involved.

While the fighting was the duty of the Moslems as the jurist Abū Yūsuf precisely states (A.H. 1352, 143-4), the Egyptians supplied sailors for naval expeditions. The Moslems of Egypt, either the Arab *Muhājirūn* (Μωαγαρίται) or the recent Egyptian converts Mawālī (Μαῦλοι), served regularly in the Egyptian fleets. The common word used for the above mentioned fighters in the Greek papyri is μάχοι, which corresponds exactly to the word *muqātalah* used in the Arabic papyri. (See for ex. Pap. Sorb. Inv. 2344, published by Rāgib, 1981, 175).

The Christian sailors of the Egyptian fleet are commonly called ναῦται καράβων or ναυτοκάραβοι, and the naval expeditions κοῦρσοι. (Pap. Rem. 52, 2; Pap. Rem. 9, 7; Pap. Sorb. Inv. 2232, Rāgib 115).

In addition to the common terms for ships used in the Greek papyri, i.e., πλοῖον, σκάφος, δρομώνιον, an interesting name is used for the ships of Clysma, that of λουφία (Pap. Lond. 1336, 5). Perhaps this term originated from the shape of the vessel resembling λοφίον (=crest). No special work has been undertaken concerning the types of ships on the River Nile in the Byzantine and early Arab Egypt. The artistic evidence is difficult to evaluate since it could refer to either river or sea-going ships (Fig. 1). J. Velissaropoulos' statement that the construction of river boats on the Nile was of two types, i.e. the local and Greek, seems correct but no artistic evidence is provided by the author (Velissaropoulos, 1980, p. 61). See Fig. 2 for a traditional river ship of the Nile.

Repairing and constant care of the vessels, called φιλοκαλεία, was of course a primary duty of the Egyptians (Pap. Rem. 32, 7; Pap. Sorb. Inv. 2226, 9; Rāgib 128). The most important, nevertheless, duty of the Egyptians was to secure a constant flow of unskilled and skilled workers to the Egyptian shipyards while a large number of them embarked onto the warships.

According to the Arab naval manuals of war and the historical sources in every warship there were carpenters (Christides, 1982, 62) and other members of the crew engaged in repairing.

It is not therefore surprising that under the heavy pressure of demands for skilled workers to work in the shipyards, to embark in the warships and moreover to be sent to Fusṭāṭ and even Damascus for the construction of mosques and palaces, a chaotic situation was created in the countryside which is epigrammatically described in Pap. Rem. 26, 4, as "στένωσις καί λειψανδρία" (deprivation and lack of manpower). As a result of this situation a great number of those Egyptian artisans who were forced to move to Fuṣṭāṭ and work there as paid workers chose to flee and return to their villages where they were protected by the powerful land magnates.

There are numerous references to these fugitives (Greek, φυγάδες, Arab *djāliya)* in the Greek, Arabic, and Coptic papyri of early Egypt. H.I. Bell (1929) and other authors attributed their flight to the perennial dissatisfaction of the Egyptian peasants over their expectation and the lure of the big city of Fuṣṭāṭ. But most of the Egyptian fugitives of this period followed a different pattern and we notice a mass flight of town dwellers back to their villages. (For a full discussion of this phenomenon see my article "Miṣr" in EI^2).

The Moslem authorities in order to cope with the problem of these fugitives introduced an impressive innovation by creating the office of the "commissioner of the fugitives" (ἐπικείμενος τῶν φυγάδων). This administrator, cutting through the hierarchy, nullified the power of the pagarchs and acted directly with the governor. The establishment of the efficient office of the ἐπικείμενος τῶν φυγάδων witnesses the most glaring example of the Moslem system of centralization.

CONCLUSIONS

The brief discussion of a small number of terms concerning the Post in Early Arab Egypt manifests the constant care of the Moslem authorities to retain and improve the Byzantine Post system. Simultaneously, the scrutiny of all relevant inscriptions manifests that because of the frantic efforts by the Moslems to build a navy and challenge the Byzantines in the sea (Cheira, 1974; *Ta'rikh,* 1973), a serious problem of shortage of manpower was created. To cope with this problem the Arab authorities applied a strictly centralized administration changing drastically the Byzantine system. It is, therefore, misleading to take all the Greek terms we meet in the Greek papyri of Early Arab Egypt in their face value and accept A. Mukhtar's statement that no substantial changes took place at this period. (Mukhtar, 1973, 309).

Another important remark to be made is that the power of the land magnates - whether monophysites or melkites - was curtailed but did not disappear. Here it should be mentioned that the frequently expressed view that there was a monolithic front of the native Egyptians against the Byzantines is misleading (Lilie, 1976, 49). Winkelmann has correctly pointed out that there were different layers in the structure of the Egyptian society and the attitude of each of them varied towards the Byzantine government (Winkelmann, 1979, 161-81; Christides, 1991).

Thus while a certain number of wealthy landlords reacted with hostility against Constantinople allying with the persecuted monophysite patriarch Benjamin, another part of them had already been incorporated into the Byzantine administrative machine. Similarly, in North Africa the most prominent notables had been incorporated into the Byzantine administrators. (Durliat, 1981, 112 ff.; more analytically in my forthcoming book, *The Conquest of Byzantine Libya by the Arabs).*

After the Arab conquest, although the Moslems originally favoured the monophysite Copts, eventually an even-handed approach was attempted (Skreslet, 1987, 80 ff). In general most of the wealthy Egyptian landlords - whether monophysites or melkites - during the Umayyad period of

Arab rule retained many of their priviledges, most important of which was the preservation of large estates which enabled them to continue their leadership in the local affairs of their villages.

NOTE

The continuation of my article "Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean" *(Graeco-Arabica* 3, 1984) will appear in the periodical *Nubica* 1991, under the title "Navigation and Naval Warfare in the Eastern Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean (6th-14th centuries A.D.)".

ADDENDUM

This article had already been sent to the printer's when I received the excellent paper of Prof. Tomas Hägg, "Titles and Honorific Epithets in Nubian Greek Texts", *Symbolae Osloenses* LXV (1990), 147-177. His work displays – in a way parallel to my study in early Arab Egypt – the development of the Byzantine titles formulated in Greek and used by the Blemmyan and the Nobadian rulers in Nubia. The author successfully argues that none of the titles and epithets provide any evidence for Byzantine influence on medieval Nubia later than the Arab conquest of Egypt. Thus in both areas of Egypt and Nubia we notice the use of old Byzantine titles readjusted according to the new local needs without any further Byzantine influence.

It is noteworthy that while none of the titles on navigation discussed above (ναῦται, etc.) appear in Nubia, Hägg reports the use of the term "ναύαρχος" or "ναυάρχης" in an inscription dating from the 11th c. A.D. Thus we read: "μεί(ζονος) ναυάρχου". This term means either a captain of a ship or a chief of the fleet. Most probably it refers to the Nubian vessels in the sea rather than to any ships of the river Nile. In the Greek papyri of Egypt no such title appears.

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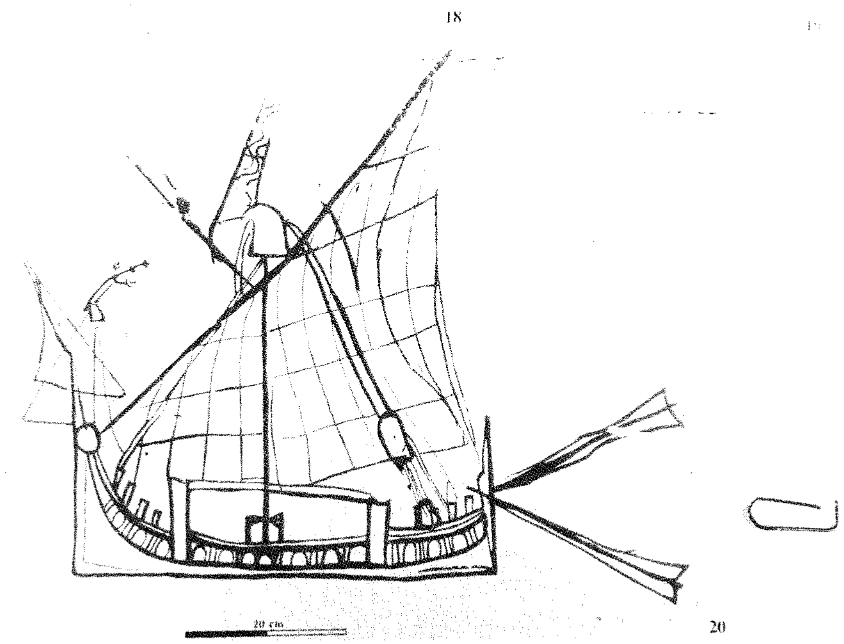


Fig. 1. Depiction of a vessel in Kellia of Lower Egypt. M. Rassart-Debergh, "La decoration peinte", in *Le Site monastique des Kellia,* Louvain, 1984, fig. 20.

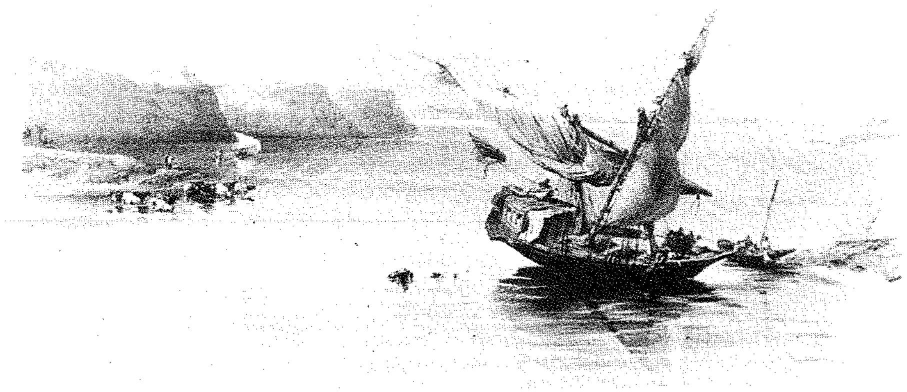


Fig. 2. Traditional ship of the river Nile. Alan K. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs,* Oxford 1990, fig. 49.

Cosmas Indicopleustes, Sopater et le monde arabe

La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustes, écrite entre 535 et 547 à Alexandrie d'Egypte par ce moine, ancien marchand et voyageur, devenu théologien et géographe, est antérieure à l'expansion arabe puisque l'hégire ne commence qu'un siècle plus tard. Néanmoins, lui-même et son confrère, le marchand Sopater[1], dont il se fait l'écho, n'ont pu parvenir en Inde qu'en touchant au monde arabe préislamique. C'est un des points de son témoignage sur lequel on n'a pas suffisamment attiré l'attention et dont je voudrais m'occuper brièvement, quitte à revenir plus tard sur certains aspects.

La Topographie est, malgré son extravagante cosmographie, un lieu de rencontre de l'héritage scientifique et spécialement géographique alexandrin, de la pensée religieuse orientale, peut-être bien nestorienne, et de l'experience acquise par un roulier des mers, en l'espèce Sopater plus que Cosmas[2].

Le monde qu'il connaît enveloppe, pour ainsi dire, la péninsule arabique. En dehors de cette zone, il vit de traditions vagues et mal comprises, ou rapporte, ce qui vaut mieux, ce qu'a vu Sopater. Il sait, par exemple, qu'il existe un Océan Arctique, mais il croit que la Mer Caspienne en fait partie. Il sait vaguement qu'existe l'Atlantique, mais il le croit non navigable à cause des brumes, des courants et surtout de son étendue qu'il croit illimitée, car il n'a évidemment aucune notion de la barrière américaine, interposée entre l'Atlantique et le Pacifique. Dans celui-ci, il sait qu'on suit la côte du Tehampa, c'est-à-dire de l'Annam,

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1. Il s'appelle Sopatros dans le XIe livre de la Topographie, mais certains auteurs français ont préféré la forme plus euphonique de Sopater. Cf. M. Mollat dans Histoire Universelle des Explorations, t. I, le Moyen âge.

2. Ed. Winstedt (Cambridge, 1909), p. 323; Ed. Wolska Conus t. III (Paris, 1973), p. 349; Traduction anglaise Mc. Crindle (New York, Hakluyt Society, 1897), p. 369.

pour arriver en Tzinista, en Chine. Mais il ne parle de ces choses lointaines que par ouï-dire, car il n'a pas navigué dans le golfe du Bengale et encore moins passé le détroit de Malacca. Ce qu'il a pratiqué, c'est la navigation côtière dans la Mer Rouge, la Mer d'Oman, le golfe Persique, c'est-à-dire tout autour de la presqu'île arabique et donc exclusivement dans l'extrême nord-ouest de l'Océan Indien. Sopater, lui, était un marchand byzantin qui trafiquait entre la Mer Rouge, l'Afrique Orientale et Ceylan. Une première observation élémentaire s'impose: tous deux, Cosmas et Sopater, ont su ce qu'était la mousson.

Une autre remarque de nature géographique, que nous devons faire dès l'abord, c'est que les contacts avec le monde arabe ne pouvaient avoir lieu qu'à des points bien déterminés, car les côtes en relief de l'Oman, de l'Hadramaout, du Yémen et de l'Hedjaz ne facilitent pas les contacts avec l'intérieur, sauf là où elles sont échancrées en ports qui concentrent évidemment tout le trafic maritime, mais sont aussi les lieux de liaison avec le trafic caravanier de l'intérieur des terres.

Dans le nord de l'Océan Indien, la période du monopole exclusif de la navigation, entre les mains des Indiens du Nord, était depuis longtemps passée. Vers 3000 avant notre ère déjà, les Indiens de la vallée de l'Indus avaient établi par la navigation côtière la connexion avec l'Egypte. Ils connaissaient donc déjà presque autant de la mousson et des courants maritimes que la plupart des marins du temps de Cosmas et Sopater. L'initiative, on le voit, vient du sub-continent indien.

C'est dans Strabon, Pline et le Périple de la Mer Erythrée que les Occidentaux, donc aussi les Egyptiens, vont apparaître comme découvrant à leur tour la navigation dans le nord-ouest de l'Océan Indien. Certes, il y a eu des navigations pharaoniques longtemps avant, mais il est peu probable que l'Arabie méridionale ait été dépassée. Les tentatives de Scylax sous Darius et de Néarque sous Alexandre ne font que reprendre, avec plus ou moins de succès, les itinéraires d'est en ouest des Indiens de l'Indus.

Pendant tout ce temps, les Arabes méridionaux, c'est-à-dire les Arabes maritimes, ne disposent que de grands radeaux et d'embarcations de peaux. C'est ce que nous apprend du moins Agatharchide à la fin du IIème siècle avant J.C. Là où il y avait de la prospérité économique chez les Arabes, elle était due au trafic caravanier, parfois en contact avec le trafic maritime des étrangers dans les ports.

Le premier, Eudoxe de Cyzique fit vers ce moment le voyage d'Alexandrie en Inde, mais avec un pilote indien. C'est Strabon qui nous l'apprend à la fin du Ier siècle av. J.C. Au Ier siècle ap. J.C., Pline l'Ancien

parle de la navigation singhalaise, toujours le long des côtes, mais avec une connaissance accrue de la mousson, à cause de l'aire couverte. Les Singhalais portaient alors en Arabie méridionale de la cannelle, ce qui suppose connue l'action du vent de mousson du N.E. Par contre, les Arabes ne pouvaient se servir de la mousson du S.O. car leurs bateaux n'auraient pas résisté. A preuve qu'encore aujourd'hui les boutres arabes, plus solides, font route vers l'Inde en partant l'hiver et en longeant la côte jusqu'à atteindre, suffisament au nord-est, la mousson d'hiver qui les pousse le long de la côte de l'Inde. Peut-être, cependant, y a-t-il eu déjà alors quelques vaisseaux arabes qui pouvaient risquer la même chose. Cela semble possible vu que, sous l'empereur Claude (41-54), un affranchi du fermier d'impôts romain Annius Plocanus a doublé l'Arabie et est arrivé à un port que Pline appelle Hippuros et qui était en Tapzobane, c'est-à-dire à Sri Lanka.

Avec le célèbre Périple de la Mer Erythrée, oeuvre à laquelle la dernière main a, sans doute, été mise par un marchand alexandrin du début du IIIème siècle de notre ère, nous nous rapprochons de l'époque de Cosmas et Sopater dont nous essayons de comprendre la navigation autour du monde arabe.

On connaît le fameux passage qui a fait couler pas mal d'encre: "Tout ce voyage, depuis Cana sur la côte sud de l'Arabie, on avait coutume de le faire dans de petits vaisseaux en suivant de près les côtes". (Voilà la navigation arabe du temps, même la plus hardie!). Le texte continue: "Et Hippalos fut le pilote qui, en observant la localisation des ports et les conditions de la mer, découvrit le premier comment faire le trajet droit à travers l'Océan". Mais, voilà, Hippalos n'est pas un homme, mais le nom du vent du sud-ouest. C'est le Périple lui-même qui nous l'apprend. Il s'agit ici non de la découverte de la mousson en général, qui est bien plus ancienne et le fait des Indiens, mais de la découverte de la mousson du sud-ouest par les Occidentaux. Et le texte de continuer: "Depuis, les navires partent directement de Cana - sur la côte sud de la presqu'île arabique - ils passent par le cap des Aromates - c'est-à-dire Guardafui - et ceux qui vont vers l'Inde du Sud tiennent la tête du navire considérablement hors du vent". C'est-à-dire qu'ils s'efforcent de gagner sur le sud-est en boulinant.

On peut, grâce à Pline, reconstituer les étapes de la découverte par les Occidentaux de la route ouest-est. Du promontoire de Syagrus en Arabie méridionale, on gagna d'abord Patalé près de l'embouchure de l'Indus, puis on alla du même promontoire vers l'Inde moyenne, à Zigerus. Enfin, on partit d'Ocelis, près du détroit de Bab-el Mandeb, et on

se faisait porter pendant quarante jours par le vent du sud-ouest vers Muziris (Cranganore), en Inde méridionale. Cette navigation effleurait le monde arabe et doit avoir eu lieu d'abord sous la conduite de pilotes indiens, comme, plus tard, celle de Vasco de Gama. En tout cas, dès Auguste, la navigation vers l'Inde par l'itinéraire décrit revêt une grande importance commerciale, car Strabon a vécu assez longtemps pour croire que dès son temps 120 navires se rendaient chaque année d'Egypte en Inde. On a trouvé en Inde méridionale des pièces d'or datant du règne de Néron et il y a à Sri Lanka des pièces descendant jusqu'au IIIème et IVème siècle de notre ère.

Au IIIème siècle, l'ultime auteur du Périple de la Mer Erythrée - ce qui, on le sait, veut dire Mer Rouge, plus l'ouest de l'Océan Indien - a séjourné à Barigaza au sud du Goudjérate, principal port de l'empire Kouchan, où aboutissait alors la route de la soie venant de Chine. L'auteur décrit aussi les connexions entre ce port et l'actuelle Tanzanie, sur la côte orientale de l'Afrique, dont Kilwa était la ville maritime la plus importante.

Ensuite est venue la période de la décadence romano-hellénistique et la montée maritime de la Perse sassanide à l'ouest, de l'Inde des Gupta à l'est. Dès le règne de Bahram V (420-430), la Perse jouait un rôle prédominant dans l'ouest de l'Océan, mais un siècle plus tard Cosmas et Sopater nous montrent que l'Egypte byzantine tenait toujours une certaine place.

Pendant la montée persane, une autre montée allait mettre en mouvement les premiers débuts de l'expansion maritime arabe antéislamique. Le royaume éthiopien d'Axoum entretenait des rapports caravaniers avec la côte Zendj en Afrique Orientale, et bientôt une flotte éthiopienne apparut qui, au départ d'Adoulis près de l'actuelle Massaoua, naviguait sur les itinéraires pratiqués antérieurement par la navigation byzantine d'Egypte et atteignait Sri Lanka ou Ceylan. Or, les Ethiopiens d'Axoum étaient en conflit perpétuel avec l'Etat himyarite d'Arabie méridionale qui, menacé par la mer, se mit à construire des boutres plus solides, d'abord pour sa défense, ensuite pour le commerce maritime. Mais, pendant la grande époque sassanide, aux Vème et VIème siècles, le commerce de la Mer Erythrée continua à être dominé par les Iraniens.

C'est sur un bateau éthiopien que Sopater, après avoir échappé aux pirates arabes de Socotora, gagna Ceylan. De Taprobane, dit Cosmas, on se rend dans toutes les parties du monde. Tout part d'ici pour Malabar, donc en remontant la côte de l'Inde, où on se procure le poivre, puis vers le Sind, c'est-à-dire le Pakistan à l'embouchure de l'Indus, la

Perse, le Yémen. Voilà la zone portuaire arabe qui entre la première dans le grand trafic maritime international, et ce précisément à l'époque de Cosmas et de Sopater. La navigation éthiopienne se termine à Adoulis d'où elle est partie.

Dans cette Mer Erythrée, qui lui échappe de plus en plus, une supériorité reste cependant pour quelque temps encore à l'Egypte byzantine. Un jour, à Ceylan, Sopater fut en conflit avec un marchand persan devant un juge singhalais: "Qui est votre roi? demande Sopater au Persan. Au juge il dit, comme chacun des adversaires avait transmis au magistrat une monnaie de son pays: "Comparez les pièces à l'effigie des deux souverains". La pièce d'or byzantine l'emporta aisément sur la pièce d'argent persane. Sopater avait gagné son procès.

L'expansion arabe a balayé tout cela. Il importe cependant de noter que l'Islam ne doit pas son essor aux tribus maritimes du sud, mais aux tribus caravanières du désert central et septentrional. Ce n'est que sous les Abbassides, fixés à Bagdad, que l'Arabie, renforcée par l'Iran, maritime depuis longtemps, mais conquis par voie de terre, deviendra une puissance maritime de premier plan avec, comme centre principal, Basra sur le Golfe Persique. J'espère que ce qui précède aura fait mieux comprendre la place de Cosmas et Sopater dans l'histoire de la navigation et les débuts maritimes du monde arabe, lesquels prirent surtout de l'ampleur quand l'Islam fut sorti de la péninsule arabique.

CHARLES VERLINDEN

Legends on Alexander the Great in Moslem Spain

I. In the Islamic west (al-Magrib and al-Andalus) the legend of Alexander or Ḏū l-Qarnayn was very widespread[1]. Apart from complete accounts, some of which are still extant[2], it is possible to trace Alexander's presence in various legends that associate the hero with far western lands. In the following pages, it will be my aim to gather together scat-

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1. An excellent proof of this are the Arabic as well as the "Aljamiado" manuscripts that have been the object of a short study by J. Bauwens, "Deux textes 'tunisiens' de la Légende d'Alexandre Dûlqarnayn", *I.B.L.A.,* XXIX, 1966, 1-33. Regarding this study, I shall make some additional comments. Manuscript XXVII (not XXVIII as it appears in Bauwens' article, p. 4) of the Biblioteca de la Junta (at present in the Dept. of Arabic Studies of the Filological Institute of the C.S.I.C.) has received a partial edition and translation by E. García Gómez, *Un texto árabe occidental de la leyenda de Alejandro* (Madrid, 1929). According to the catalogue of this collection of manuscripts (Ribera, J. and Asín Palacios, M., *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la Biblioteca de la Junta,* Madrid, 1912), manuscript XXVII is a miscellany of which the part that most interests us here corresponds to folios 51-70 which include a *Ḥadīṯ madīnat al-nuḥās,* and were not edited by García Gómez. Unfortunately, the manuscript has disappeared from said collection, the date and circumstances of this disappearance being unknown; for this reason, it has been impossible for me to consult it. In the National Library and the Academy of History, both in Madrid (as well as in the Bibliothèque Générale in Rabat), there are several manuscripts of the work of al-Šāṭibī (IX-XV century historian), *Kitāb al-ǧumān fī aḫbār al-zamān,* that was partially studied by E. García Gómez in "La forêt aux pucelles", *B.R.A.H.,* XC, 1927, 197-215. Another text that could prove to be important for our present study and which I hope to be able to consult in the near future, is the unedited part of the *Mu'rib 'an ba'ḍ 'aǧā'ib al-Magrib* by Abū Ḥāmid al-Garnāṭī. At present it is in the Academy of History in Madrid (partial edition and translation by C.E. Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid el granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras eurasiáticas* (Madrid, 1953); it does not include the first 95 folios).

2. Like the one edited by E. García Gómez, *Un texto occidental...* and the numerous "aljamiado" texts, on the theme, evidence of the vitality enjoyed by this legend till a very late epoch. Another partial text of the Alexander cycle was edited and translated by E. García Gómez "Un cuento árabe fuente común de Abentofail y de Gracián" *(R.A.B.M.* XXX, 1926, 1-67 and 241-269). The original is in El Escorial: manuscript 1668, folios 25a/29a.

tered pieces of information on these legends in order to find a possible interpretation of their wide circulation and their signifacance.

First of all, I should like to point out the existence of data that associate Ḏū l-Qarnayn with three Spanish cities: Mérida, Zaragoza and Toledo. This is not a mere coincidence; the three cities are bearers of an important historical past, reflected by monuments that still stand today and which must have greatly called the attention of the Peninsula's new masters. Legends, sometimes including Christian substrata and deformed historical facts transformed into mere fable[3], have been woven round these cities and round the mark left in them by civilizations prior to Islam, and especially by Rome. The present study will be limited now to the presentation of the figure of Alexander in connection with these cities; the references in question are brief, but, nonetheless, significant.

Ḏū l-Qarnayn is said to have been king of Mérida: "During the time of the Messias, a people entered (Spain) and took possession of al-Andalus and Ifranǧa together. They made Mérida the capital of their kingdom which stood the reign of twenty seven kings, one of whom was supposedly Ḏū l-Qarnayn"[4]. The same city is also mentioned in another legend concerning the treasures found by the Arabs in Spain. According to this account, the kings of Armenia, al-Andalus and the Rūm, after having conquered Jerusalem, divided the booty: the famous Table of Solomon and the saffire belonging to Ḏū l-Qarnayn[5] fell to the lot of the king of al-Andalus; Mūsà b. Nuṣayr, the conqueror of Spain, discovered these two objects in the church of Mérida and took them to al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik[6]. Finally, al-Idrīsī, the geographer, on describing the city, mentions that to the south of the city wall there is a small palace whose tower is situated in the same spot as the mirror which Queen Mārida had built in emulation of the one Ḏū l-Qarnayn had placed in the lighthouse of Alexandria[7].

3. See, for example, the studies done by J. Vallvé on the presence of pre-islamic traditions in Andalusian historical-geographical literature: "Fuentes latinas de los geógrafos árabes", *al-Andalus,* XXXII, 1967, 241-260; "Carthage et Carthagene au VIIIe siècle", *Actas del II Coloquio Hispano-Tunecino* (Madrid, 1973), 7-12.

4. al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'ṭār* (edition and translation by E. Lévi-Provençal, Leiden, 1938), p. 6 an 175-6; Ibn al-sabbāṭ, *Waṣf al-Andalus* (Madrid, 1971), p. 167.

5. For the table of Solomon, see M.J. Rubiera, "La mesa de Salomón", *Awrāq,* III, 1980, 26-31.

6. Ibn 'Iḏārī, *al-Bayān al-mugrib* (Edition by G. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal, Paris, 1951), II, p. 17; *Fatḥ al-Andalus* (Algiers, 1889), pp. 18-19.

7. al-Idrīsī, *Opus Geographicum* (Naples, 1975), V, p. 545. Compare this information with that given by al-Zuhrī, *K. al-Ǧa'razīya (B.E.O.,* XXI, 1968, 7-312), p. 248; Abū Ḥāmid al-Garnāṭī, *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* (edition by G. Ferrand, Paris, 1925), p. 70 and al-Dimašqī, *Nuḫbat al-dahr* (edited by A. Mehren, Leipzig, 1923 and translated by A. Mehren, Amsterdam, 1964), pp. 36 and 37. For the lighthouse of Alexander, see M. Asín Palacios, "Una descripción nueva del faro de Alejandría", *Obras escogidas* (Madrid, 1948), I, 389-460.

The mention of Ḏū l-Qarnayn as king of Mérida and his connection with treasures and wonders found there, seem to reflect, on a mythological level, the admiration Mérida and its Roman monuments inspired in Arabic writers[8]. However, at the same time, we begin to discover here some of the themes continuously associated with Ḏū l-Qarnayn in all the legends we shall deal with further on: he is the legendary king who comes from afar, who possesses (and discovers) large treasures and who holds the key to magical knowledge.

The references to Zaragoza and Toledo are fewer in number. Regarding the latter, we are only told that Sulaymān b. Dāwūd, 'Īsà b. Maryam and Ḏū l-Qarnayn[9] entered it, which appears to be more an attempt at honoring the venerable city with their presence than the echo of a true legend. It is also said that Zaragoza was built by Alexander. This should not surprise us since his reputation (whether real or fantastic) as founder/builder of cities is well documented in numerous Arabic texts[10].

However, these scattered references are insufficient to assure the presence of a "legend of Alexander" in al-Andalus and for this reason it is necessary to extend our search towards another type of text. In these — as we shall see in some detail— a legendary figure always appears, making his way towards the far west or towards a dark region that extends north or westwards. The clearest example is the one directly related to the legend of Alexander just as it appears in the Pseudo-Calistenes[11]: the hero's journey in search of the source of life[12] which is found

8. For example, al-Rāzī, quoted by Ibn Sa'īd *(al-Mugrib fī ḥulà al-Magrib,* edited by Š. Ḍayf, Cairo, 1953-55, I, p.361).

9. Yāqūt, *Mu'ǧam al-buldān* (Beirut, 1977), *s.v. Ṭulayṭula;* al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb* (edited by I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1968), I, p. 161.

10. Ibn Sa'īd, *Mugrib,* II, p. 435 and al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ,* I, p. 150. For Alexander as builder of cities, see *E.I.2, s.v. al-Iskandariyya* (A. Miquel).

11. See Pseudo-Calistenes, *Vida y hazañas de Alejandro de Macedonia* (translation by C. García Gual, Madrid, 1977). For the transmission of the legend of Alexander to the Arab world, García Gómez, *op. cit.,* pp. XXI-LXXIX; Anderson, A.R., *Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog and the Related Nations* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 30-32; Abel, A., *Le roman d'Alexandre* (Brussels, 1955), pp. 55 ff. and Nagel, T., *Alexander der Grosse in der frühislamische Volksliteratur* (Walldorf-Hessem, 1978), besides the classical works by Nöldeke and Friedländer *(E.I. 2, s.v. Iskandar* (W.M. Watt) and *Iskandar nāma* (A. Abel).

12. On this theme, Friedländer, I., "Alexanders Zug nach dem Lebensquell und die Chadhirlegende"., *A.R.,* XIII (1910).

in the Land of the Dark, to the west of the known world[13] (Although the name of al-Andalus is not mentioned in this journey, which is found in Arabic sources, mention is made of the Land of the Dark or the Sea of the Dark which, as we shall later see, is closely related to one of the most important developments of the legend D̲ū l-Qarnayn in al-Andalus). Another D̲ū l-Qarnayn also journeys westwards and, with him, the Yemenite version of these accounts appears. The figure in Question is al-Ṣa'b D̲ū l-Qarnayn b. al-Ḥārit̲, one of the mythical South Arabian kings whose connection with al-H̲iḍr makes it possible to associate him with one of the facets of Alexander/D̲ū l-Qarnayn. The traditions related to this figure date back to Wahb b. Munabbih and were gathered together by Ibn Hišām[14]. D̲ū l-Qarnayn, who is also a conqueror and discoverer of new lands, reaches al-Andalus and conquers even its remotest regions. Further on, al-H̲iḍr explains to him that Abraham had sent Ğirğīr to the Magrib to spread the faith in God. When Ğirğīr reaches al-Andalus to carry out his mission, he is killed by the inhabitants. For this reason, enraged by the behaviour of the people of al-Andalus, D̲ū l-Qarnayn sends his troops there and orders the soldiers to have pity on no one[15].

The journey to the Magrib theme is connected with two other South Arabian figures: Ḥimyar who, according to Wahb b. Munabbih[16] travels from Egypt to the Ocean Sea, and Ifrīqīs (b. Qays or b. Abraha) who gives his name to Ifrīqiya and reaches as far as the Magrib. According to other sources, Ifrīqīs travels as far as Tangiers; others have him reach al-Andalus. Following these accounts, Ifrīqīs is also the one who led the Berbers from Palestine and Egypt to their actual places of abode[17].

It is, therefore, obvious that the South Arabian legends must be taken into account in order to incorporate the name of al-Andalus into the legend of Alexander/D̲ū l-Qarnayn[18]. The process by which this legen-

13. See the Arabic account of this journey, for example, in al-T̲a'labī, *Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* (Cairo, s.d.), pp. 205-7 and more summarized in Ibn Kat̲īr, *al-Bidāya wa-l-nihāya* (Cairo, 1932), II, pp. 107-8.

14. In *Kitāb al-tīğān* (Hyderabad, 1347 H.) p. 81, 88. For the Yemenite Dū l-Qarnayn, Abel, A., *Le Roman d'Alexandre,* pp. 71 ff. and Nagel, T., *op.cit.*

15. *Kitāb al-tīğān,* p. 96. These traditions were collected by an Andalusian author, Ibn Sa'īd, in *Našwat al-ṭarab fī ta'rīḫ ğāhilīyat al-'arab* (Edited by N. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, Amman, 1982) I, pp. 112-4.

16. *Kitāb al-tīğān,* p.53.

17. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *al-Ak̲bār al-ṭiwāl* (edited by I. Kratchkovskii, Leiden, 1912), p. 17; Ibn Qutayba, *al-Ma'ārif* (Cairo, 1969), p. 267; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* (Beirut, s.d.), p. 365.

18. In which elements of the legend of Solomon also appear, as we shall see further on. Here we must point out that the mythical figure of Solomon appears in connection with the "journey westward", see al-Dīnawarī, *Ak̲bār,* p. 24.

dary messenger was incorporated into Islam can be clearly appreciated in a transmission attributed to the famous magistrate of Ifrīqiya 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād b. An'um[19]. According to this account, which appears in different texts[20] with some variations, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ziyād discovers a tomb with Himyarite writing near Qarṭağanna and on which is written: "I am 'Abd Allāh b. al-Arāsī (or al-Arāšī), the envoy of Ṣāliḥ, the messenger of God (in other versions the figure in question is Šuhayb), who sent me to this place to exhort them to God's (religion). I arrived in the morning and they killed me at night (this sentence could also be interpreted in the following way: I arrived with the light and they killed me unjustly)". It is difficult not to associate this text with the above-mentioned by Ibn Hišām, according to which the Andalusians had killed another messenger, namely, Ğirğīr, and with the fact that, in the Islamic version of the legend, Alexander/D̲ū l-Qarnayn is the conqueror of lands as well as the one who spreads the faith in God. Moreover, the difficulties which the Arabs encountered in conquering the North of Africa were promptly reflected in a historiographical tradition that, in some cases, was adulterated by fantastic elements, namely: treasures, an innumerable amount of slaves, an incalculable booty and, what most interests us in the present study, the myths regarding the Sea of the Dark, imaginary cities, statues built as a sign of warning, etc.[21].

Within this legendary cycle, those accounts related to what is today known as the Strait of Gibraltar, and in which the mythical figure of Alexander plays an important role, especially attract our attention. The presence of various symbolical elements, which will be studied below, can be observed in these accounts.

The first of these elements is the construction, carried out by Alexander (or his South Arabian namesake) of a tower/lighthouse in the upper part of which there is a statue. It is, obviously, the famous "idol of Cádiz" (ṣanam Qādis) whose construction is also attributed to Hercules. The oldest version is that of Ibn Hišām: After conquering al-Andalus, D̲ū l-Qarnayn wishes to cross the Ocean (al-baḥr al-muḥīṭ); in order to control

19. Juynboll, G.H.A., *Muslim Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), p. 228.

20. Abū l-'Arab, *Ṭabaqāt 'ulamā' Ifrīqīya wa-Tūnis* (Tunis, 1968), p.55 (and num. 5), 56; al-Mālikī, *Riyāḍ al-nufūs* (Cairo, 1951), p. 5; al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale* (edition and translation by B. de Slane, Paris, 1965), p.45.

21. For the conquest of the Magrib, besides the basic sources, such as Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, see E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un nouveau récit de la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les arabes", *Arabica,* I, 1954, 17-43 and T. Lewicki, "Les origines de l'Islam dans les tribus berbères du Sahara Occidentale: Mūsà ibn Nuṣayr et 'Ubayd Allāh ibn al-Ḥabḥāb", *Studia Islamica,* XXII, 1970, 203-214.

its high waves and strong winds, he erects a lighthouse (manāra) on top of which he places a brass statue that acts as a talisman. He then repeats this action as he goes further out into the sea[22]. A slightly posterior author, Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (d. 245/860), on narrating Ifrīqīs b. Qays' journey westwards, has him halt at the banks of the "river of the ants" (which also appears in the legend of Alexander) and states: "He could go no further and, for that reason, he turned round, and, on the spot, erected a statue on whose breast he inscribed in South Arabian characters: "Beyond this there is no path nor wealth to search for. Let no one attempt to pass for he will perish"[23].

In these two texts, dating from the III/IX century, the permanent elements of the story are found: the tower, the statue and the warning to travellers for them to refrain from continuing that journey. As I have already mentioned, this is a theme that has been attributed from ancient times to another mythological figure, the semi-god Hercules, and al-Mas'ūdī in his Murūǧ al-ḏahab[24] and Kitāb al-Tanbīh[25] relates it in this sense. However, Ḏū l-Qarnayn as a constructor of this statue is present in some other texts such as that of the Andalusian Abū Ḥāmid who, although with certain reserve, clearly gives account of it: "Story of the statue of Cádiz, built by Ḏū l-Qarnayn; God knows the truth of the matter. The fact is that in al-Andalus the two seas meet: the Black Sea and the Sea of the Rūm. At this confluence of the two seas there is an island where a black-stoned tower was erected, against which (even the use of) iron was powerless (...). At the top of the tower there was an image of a black man, similar to a zanǧī; he was wrapped in a golden tunic in such a strange way that no one would be able to cover himself in a similar fashion. The tunic fell diagonally across his chest, leaving uncovered his right shoulder, arm and hand which he held extended. His strong fingers pointed westward while his left hand, as though holding a key, (indicated) the Black Sea. Waves as high as mountains are formed in this sea; the

22. *Kitāb al-Tīǧān,* p. 83. Ibn Sa'īd quotes Ibn Hišām on this *(Našwa,* I, 112 and 114).

23. *Al-Muḥabbar,* p. 365. See as well Ibn al-Faqīh, *Muḥtaṣar kitāb al-buldān* (edition by M.J. Goeje, Leiden, 1967. *B.G.A.,* V) p. 71: Ḏū l-Qarnayn enters and journeys through the Darkness until he reaches a place beyond which there is no path; he then builds a brass horse that bears an inscription in Himyarite to warn others of this fact.

24. *Murūǧ al-ḏahab* (edition and translation by C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Paris, 1861), I, p. 257.

25. (Cairo, 1938), p. 60 and translation by Carra de Vaux, (Paris, 1896), p. 101. This text is more extensive than the one in *Murūǧ* and it affirms that the statue still existed at the time it was written. For its destruction, see al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ,* pp. 148/177.

many horrors that exist here make it impossible for any boat to navigate. God is all-knowing"[26].

Al-Idrīsī relates this theme when he speaks about the Canary Islands and situates two of the six existing columns crowned with brass statues in these islands, and one in Cádiz[27]. Although he does not establish any connection between these statues and the legend of Alexander/Hercules, the author of the Nuzhat al-muštāq later states that Ḏū l-Qarnayn journeyed as far as the Canary Islands[28]. Allusions to the statues existing in Cádiz and in the Canary Islands[29] are also found in later texts or these decidedly state that the constructor of the statue was Hercules[30].

The general common characteristic of these texts is to be found in the statue that checks the traveller, whether conqueror or navigator, warning him of the dangers existing beyond that point[31]. All those who arrive here must be aware of the fact that they are reaching the "finis terrae" where only figures like Ḏū l-Qarnayn have entered, who navigated on the Sea of the Dark due, precisely, to his ability to knot the winds and the furies of the sea. The statues are, then, talismans and further on we shall see how they can protect not only against the dangers of nature but also against hostile lands.

Regarding the area of the Strait of Gibraltar, up till now we have

26. Abū Ḥāmid, *Tuḥfa,* p. 69. Another fragment byAbū Ḥāmid, reproduced by Ferrand immediately after his edition of the *Tuḥfa* (p. 230) even though it does not form part of said work, does not mention Ḏū l-Qarnayn (see the curious illustration on p. 200 of Ferrand's edition). A similar description of the tower and the statue are found in al-Zuhrī, *K. al-Ǧa'rafīya,* pp. 216-7. We must indicate that in al-Zuhrī's version, the statue is not a sign of warning but rather a means of orienting seamen on their way to the Atlantic coast of Morocco and to Lisbon.

27. al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne* (edition and translation by R. Dozy, Leiden, 1968), p. 2. See Lewicki, T., *Etudes maghrébines et soudanaises II* (Warsaw, 1983), pp. 12-14: here the columns are identified with two towers mentioned by the Italian, Leonardo Torriani, in the XVI century.

28. *Description,* pp. 38-9.

29. Al-Qazwīnī, *Āṯār al-bilād* (edition by F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen 1848), p. 19; al-Dimašqī, *Nuḫba,* pp. 131/170.

30. Al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ,* pp. 145-6.

31. There is a clear parallelism in the history of the conquest of al-Andalus in the *Kitāb al-imāma wa-l-siyāsa* (edition by J. Ribera, Madrid, 1926) p. 150; Mūsà b. Nuṣayr sends some men on a sea expedition; he orders them to continue travelling until they reach an island where there is a statue that points forward. The account of the statue that warns the Arabic armies, when raiding the south of France, of the impossibility to go beyond that point, has also been conserved (for example, in al-Zuhrī, *K. al-Ǧa'rafīya,* p. 230. See Lewis, B., *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London, 1982), p. 19, who considers it as an acknowledgement by the Arabs that "they had reached the limits of their westward expansion").

observed a series of mythical elements in which the figure of Alexander/ Ḏū l-Qarnayn intervenes due to his supposed incursion in the Ocean and construction of columns or statues, all of which makes it possible to identify him with the figure of Hercules. In my opinion, the following development of this account is much more important. I am referring to the construction of the bridge over the Strait, a theme that is found in eastern and western Arabic writers and which we shall analyze below.

The first mention we have found of this bridge is that of al-Mas'ūdī. In his Murūǧ al-ḏahab[32] he has transmitted one of the least fantastic versions (within the framework of a theme that is in itself a legend) of the existence of the bridge: "Between al-Andalus and the place known as al-Ḫaḍrā', near Fez of the Magrib, and Tangiers, there was a bridge built of stone and brick over which (caravans of) camels and beast of burden crossed from the bank of the Magrib to the land of al-Andalus and vice-versa. Under this bridge the sea water divided into small arms that flowed under the arches. The pillars of the bridge were joined by arches and stood on solid rocks. This is where the Sea of Rūm begins, flowing from the Ocean Sea or al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ. Throughout the years, the sea has continuously increased its water-level and invaded the lands, as people of all epochs and times have always observed; thus, the road that existed between al-'Arīš and Cyprus was submerged under the sea and the same happened to the bridge between al-Andalus and Ḫaḍrā' of Fez. What I have described regarding this bridge is an evident and clear fact among the inhabitants of al-Andalus and Fez, on the Magrib coast. In this place, the seamen sometimes observe it and remark: this is the bridge. It had a length of twelve miles, a good width and considerable height".

Al-Mas'ūdī does not attribute the construction of this bridge to anyone; he regards it as a means of joining the continents and makes an interesting comment; he compares it to another land route that has disappeared, the one from al-'Arīš to Cyprus. Although the science of the times did not provide them with a basis for this observation, it is obvious that Arabic geographers correctly assumed the existence of important geological changes in the earth's configuration. Al-Idrīsī states that in past epochs, the Baḥr al-Šāmī was an inland sea, like the Sea of Ṭabaristān[33]: according to his version, the bridge is no longer a means of communication, but just the opposite. Al-Idrīsī's text presents the basic aspects of the story which later authors will repeat with some modifications. First of all, the

32. II, pp. 375-6.

33. al-Idrīsī, *Opus Geographicum,* V, p. 526; Hadj Sadok, M., *Al-Idrisi. Le Magrib au 6e siècle de l'Hégire* (Paris, 1983), p. 168.

reason behind its construction which is no other than the hostility existing between the inhabitants of both shores. Al-Iskandar (not Ḏū l-Qarnayn) visits the Andalusians who complain to him of the continuous attacks by the people of Sūs; the hero then constructs two dikes under which the sea will flow[34]. Al-Idrīsī carefully describes the construction of these dikes that joined Tangiers to the Iberian Peninsula and of which, according to him, only one remains, being perfectly visible when the sea is calm. Al-Idrīsī, as well as al-Mas'ūdī, and many writers after them, insisted on this point and some even claim to have personally seen the remains of this marvellous construction[35]. The only possible explanation for this assertion lies in the fact that here, as in the case of all legends, there is also a basis of reality. It is quite possible that the remains mentioned by Arabic writers correspond to those of a Roman aqueduct that supplied water to the city of Cádiz. Today there are no traces of it, but documentary evidence of its former existence has been conserved[36]. And this is all the more logical because, as we shall see below, one of the derivations of the legend is directly connected with the problem of supplying water to Cádiz.

The "talisman" used against the Berbers is associated with this theme in a clearly folkloric motif that was introduced into the "legend of the Strait" at a time difficult to pinpoint; the first literary evidence of it is to be found in the Mu'ǧam al-buldān[37]. According to al-Maqqarī, whose text is

34. On the hostility between Andalusians and Berbers, the historical reasons and the literary development of the theme, see E. García Gómez, *Andalusía contra Berbería,* (Barcelona, 1976).

35. *Kitāb al-istibṣār fī 'aǧā'ib al-amṣār* (edition by S.Z. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Alexandria, 1958), p. 138; Yāqūt, *Mu'ǧam al-buldān, s.v. Qādis;* al-Qazwīnī, *Āṯār al-bilād* (Beirut, 1960), p. 550; al-Dimašqī, *Nuḫba,* pp. 136 and ff/179 and ff. (and an illustrative drawing on p. 137 of the Arabic text); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab* (Cairo, 1929), I, p. 223; Ibn al-Wardī, *Ḫarīdat al-'aǧā'ib wa-farīdat al-garā'ib* (Cairo, 1328 H.), p. 17; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ,* p. 83; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ,* I, p. 135. Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, a well-known geographer of the VIII/XIV century, gives the bridge more "reasonable" proportions because, according to him, it did not cross the Strait but joined two places between Tarifa and Algeciras (See M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes' translation of the Arabic text, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār. L'Afrique moins l'Egypte* (Paris, 1927), p. 242. In one of the Tunisian manuscripts studied by Bauwens *(op. cit.,* pp. 19 and ff.) and written in 1278/1861, Aliskandar has a bridge built over the Strait in order to cross it with his army and attack the king of al-Andalus.

36. See Fernández Casado, C., *Acueductos romanos en España* (Madrid, 1972), s.v. *Acueducto de Belo* and *Acueducto de Gades.*

37. S.v. *Qādis.* Other texts in Ibn Hallikān's *Wafayāt al-a'yān* (edition by I. 'Abbās, Beirut, 1972), V, 324-7; al-Qazwīnī, *Āṯār al-bilād* (Beirut 1960), p. 550; al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ,* I, pp. 244-5. In al-Ḥimyarī's *Rawḍ,* p. 39, the same theme appears but with a different geographical

the most developed, the King of Cádiz (significantly called yūnānī) has an extremely beautiful daughter who decides to marry the wisest of her suitors. Two of them prove to be the most adequate of all and, so, the princess promises her hand in marriage to the one who first finishes either one of these two tasks: bring fresh water to Cádiz overland or make a talisman against the Berbers. The narrator's comment is interesting: "The remains (of the water-pipe) still stand today in the Strait (zuqāq) between Ceuta and al-Ǧazīra al-Haḍrā'. The majority of the people of al-Andalus believe they are the ruins of the bridge Alexander built for people to cross over coming from Ceuta to al-Ǧazīra. God knows which of the two is true, although the opinion prevailing among the people is the second"[38]. The Arabs of the Peninsula who were familiar with the remains of the aqueduct[39] gave a legendary explanation for its existence. Perhaps they were inspired by the peculiar geographical configuration of the region, in the same way that while Tangiers, on the other side of the Strait, is the core of a whole series of fantastic accounts, Cádiz, on the other hand, being semi-isolated in the sea and dashed by the ocean, was the broach that closed the known world[40].

situation. It is about the kings of Tudmīr and Rayyo who, in ancient times, sought the hand of the daughter of the king of Urš al-yaman (Almería). The condition imposed on them is also connected with supplying water: the first to bring water from hot springs to the palace will have the princess in marriage.

38. al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ,* I, p. 245. The legend of the princess was included by Basset, R., in his *Mille et une contes* (Paris, 1924-26), I, num. 7, pp. 66-68; there is a similar account in Basset, R., *Contes populaires berbères* (Paris, 1887), num. XXII ("L'aqueduc de Cherchel"), pp. 41-42. See Basset, R., "Alexandre en Algérie", *R.T.P.,* October, 1887, pp. 440-1, for the survival of the tradition concerning the communication established by Ḏū l-Qarnayn between the Mediterranean Sea and the Ocean.

39. See Ibn Sa'īd, *Mugrib,* I, p. 309 and *apud* Abū l-Fidā' *(Géographie,* translation by M. Reinaud, Paris, 1848), II, p. 269); "Cádiz is an island in the Ocean Sea. In this sea, the remains of a bridge are found landwards, by means of which fresh water was brought to the city overland, in the time of the Christians".

40. Another interesting legend that explains the peculiar geography of the peninsula of Cádiz, is found in al-Zuhrī, *K. al-Ǧa'rafiya,* p. 215: "Let us return to the account on Cádiz and how it was destroyed. It so happened there was a tunny fishery on the banks of the large reservoir and it had a door through which the river flowed a cubit wide. It also had a talisman that attracted the tunny fish in the month of May. King Sant Bāṭaru's wife said to him: 'If you open a passage (door) in the corner of this mountain, the sea will enter the river a length of two cubits enlarging it and, in this way, fish and tunnies will come in from the sea'. The account continues to relate how the king refuses this suggestion due to the danger it may mean for his land but, finally, he agrees and the queen has experts and workers come and open the new passage through 'which today the boats enter between Rota and Cádiz'. When the sea entered and its waters met with those of wādī Lakka (Guadalete), they over-

We have come a long way from the primitive version by al-Mas'ūdī who limited himself to mentioning the bridge's existence at some distant point in History. Later writers, such as al-Dimašqī (VIII/XIV century) added to this central core such detailed descriptions of the bridge's construction that, at times, it causes a strange sense of reality which, however, is characteristic of many Arabic literary texts revealing this type of information: the more fictitious the monument being described is and the more improbable its existence and characteristics, the more exact and detailed the description will be. On the other hand, the sole idea of this fantastic work of engineering, beyond the imagination for its impossibility at that time, inspires a kind of superstitious fear which is easy to understand if we place it in a geographical environment that, even today, continues to be impressive in spite of its more possible realization. The physical end of the known land becomes an immediate reality and therefore, it is not surprising that some texts warn of the bridge's reappearance at the end of the world[41]. Alexander (sometimes identified with al-Iskandar and other times with Ḏū l-Qarnayn) is a symbol of salvation and rationality because he does not construct the bridge by supernatural means, but orders experts in geometry and engineers to come and plan the work properly. However, mythical elements quickly invade the account when this myth becomes identified with that of the idol of Cádiz, which is also presented as a talisman against the enemy entering from without. It is easy to see that a confluence of legendary elements was produced and these have continued to be intermingled; in part, but only in part these elements are connected with the Arabic legend of Alexander. One of the points of contact may reside (and this is merely a hypothesis) in some of the explanations given by Arabic writers for the name of Ḏū l-Qarnayn as meaning "he who ruled the land from al-Mašriq to the Magrib"[42]. In my opinion, there is an obvious parallelism between the Alexander who closed the known world off on the eastern end and defended it from dangers, setting up the wall before Gog and Magog, and the Alexander who closed off the western end of this same world[43], beyond the frontiers of

flowed and covered the city of Cádiz, of which only a small island remains. In order to explain the name of the alleged king of Cádiz, let us recall the existence of the small island of Santi Petri to the southeast of the Bay of Cádiz.

41. *Istibṣār,* p. 138; al-Ḥimyarī, *Rawḍ,* p. 83. For the legends on Cádiz, see Martínez Montávez, P., *Perfil del Cádiz hispanoárabe* (Madrid, 1974).

42. The explanations for the name of Ḏū l-Qarnayn appear in numerous texts. See, for example, Ibn Kaṯīr, *Bidāya,* II, pp. 103 and ff.

43. The above-mentioned accounts make reference to a bridge as well as to an opening of the Mediterranean Sea into the Ocean. However, the two possibilities are not contradic-

which the Sea of the Dark or barbarian lands extend.

When speaking about Alexander/Ḏū l-Qarnayn's expeditions to the west, I mentioned parallel accounts of a South Arabian origin. This same parallelism reappears here in a later text but, nonetheless, of great interest. I am referring to Ibn al-Muǧāwir's Ta'rīḫ al-mustabṣir (Ṣifat bilād al-Yaman) in which, in reference to the Strait of Bāb al-Mandib, we find the following[44]: "In ancient times this sea, that is, the Sea of Qulzum (the Red Sea) did not exist but it is, rather, a new sea which was opened by Ḏū l-Qarnayn or, as others have it, by a tubba'. According to the people of the land and, among them, the Emir Abū l-Ṭāmī Ǧayyāš b. Naǧǧāḥ[45] in the Kitāb al-mufīd fī aḫbār Zabīd, the reason for it was as follows: When Dū l-Qarnayn reached this wādī, he noticed the heat was extreme and he opened it, that is, he excavated the beginning of the wādī through which the sea entered, forming an arm that reached as far as al-Qulzum where it was checked. It is related that the land of Ethiopia was joined to that of the Arabs and Ḏū l-Qarnayn said: We want to divide the two regions so that each one knows who his lord is; let each one retire to his land and country and may the dominion and hostility between peoples come to an end. When the sea was opened, each region was separated from the other". The same author further on gives us an explanation of the geographical situation of the city of Aden which immediately brings to mind the accounts of Cádiz. Ḏū l-Qarnayn's intervention as the "opener" of seas is again mentioned in this same work in reference to Aden: "From al-Qulzum to Aden even beyond the Mountain of Socotra was all one land without sea or outlet; when Ḏū l-Qarnayn arrived on one of his journeys and reached that place, he opened it and excavated a bay in the sea, through which it entered as far as the Mountain of Bāb al-Mandib"[47].

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tory because, in the second case, Alexander also builds a dike that isolates the Iberian Peninsula from its possible enemies. It is curious that the text from the *K. al-Istibṣār* (p. 139) also includes the same idea but in a reciprocal sense: "It is said (...) that the kings of the Magrib, those of the Rūm as well as of other lands, made Tangiers the capital of their kingdom because of the bridge, so that the enemy could not suddenly invade it on either side".

44. *Ṣifat bilād al-Yaman (Ta'rīḫ al-mustabṣir)* (edition by O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951), p. 95.

45. Died in 498/1105. See Sayyid, A.F., *Maṣādir ta'rīḫ al-Yaman fī l-'aṣr al-ḥadīṯ* (Cairo, 1974), pp. 96-7.

46. *Ṣifa,* pp. 115-6.

47. *Ibidem,* p. 106. Ibn al-Muǧāwir offers a whole series of explanations regarding this point, see pp. 106-8. There also appears in his version an element that is present in the history of the bridge: the sea, that invades the land and covers it as a result of the hero's labors (compare this as well with al-Zuhrī's account of Cádiz). Regarding the geographical situation of the bridge, its starting point was in the Magrib, in Ceuta or Qaṣr Maṣmūda, near

I do not think it necessary to emphasize the parallelisms existing between this tradition and those related to the Strait of Gibraltar: they are obvious. I feel that, starting from these similarities, it is possible to assume that an oriental legend, probably of Yemenite origin, existed and in which the figure of Ḏū l-Qarnayn opens and divides the continents at the same time as he separates enemy lands. This legend perfectly suited the mythological elements that had been formed round the Strait of Gibraltar: the existence of the bridge/dike, the idol and the tower, the threats from foreign lands, etc. The same way in which, at a later date, the legend of the princess came to form part of this legendary cycle, the figure of Alexander/Ḏū l-Qarnayn easily found a space within the myths of a region that, according to biblical-islamic legends, was also visited by Mūsà and al-Ḫiḍr.

II. The legendary cycle of the "City of Brass" is the second one in which the figure of Alexander appears in connection with al-Andalus. This theme is of secondary importance for the present study because Alexander's relation to the City of Brass is far more accidental and secondary than in the legend of the Strait. Besides, for years now various research workers have given their attention to the City of Brass theme and, therefore, it is not easy to add something new to the considerable amount of bibliography already existing. For this reason, I shall limit myself to contributing some details which, up to the moment, have received little attention and to indicating those aspects which, in my opinion, are the most siginificant in connection with the legend of Alexander.

When speaking about the legends of the Strait, I emphasized the existence of several copper statues, some of which were erected by Alexander, according to what is related. All these statues indicate the possible end of the way. The City of Brass (Madīnat al-nuḥās), built of this very same material, also belongs to the world of impossible things, of forbidden ways: all the early versions coincide in this point[48]. The many

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Ceuta, depending on the different versions of the legend; al-Mas'ūdī mentions al-Ḫaḍrā', near Tangiers, which is the situation most frequently given. As for the Iberian Peninsula, the context is vaguer although mention is made of Tarifa and Gibraltar (Ǧabal al-Fatḥ).

48. In the Thousand and One Nights and in the Hundred and One Nights, translated by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Paris, 1982, pp. 234 and ff.), the tale relates how the expeditionaries enter the city where they find uncountable wonders. Neither of these versions are of interest for the present study because they are later works and only conserve the initial core of the story on which many other elements have been superimposed. The two most extensive studies on this theme are, first of all, that by the same Gaudefroy-

attempts made by modern scholars to explain this exceptional myth seem to indicate that the City of Brass holds a similar attraction for modern man as the one medieval accounts[49] reveal.

In the study M. Gerhardt made on the myth of the City of Brass, she compiled the Arabic texts that dealt with this theme[50]. The one that most interests us is that by 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb, not only because it is the most ancient (III/IX century) but also because the author is Andalusian. Ibn Ḥabīb gives two versions of the legend of the City of Brass. The first one, and the shortest, does not mention Ḏū l-Qarnayn or the City of Brass: Mūsà b. Nuṣayr, the conqueror of al-Andalus and the main figure that appears continuously throughout this account, arrives at a fortress which, according to what they have told him, contains marvellous things. He is not able to enter it and offers a reward to the person who attains it; but all those who make the attempt, when they reach the top of the tower, built by Mūsà to investigate the interior of the fortress, they begin to laugh and hurl themselves from the top, reaching their death on falling[51]. Ibn Ḥabīb does not directly mention the City of Brass in this short version but he does so, however, a bit further on[52] in a version that makes the account somewhat more complex. Mūsà and his companions find themselves surrounded by an intense darkness and, finally, reach a city with a brass castle. Their attempts to enter it are equally unsuccessful as in the previous version but, at last, they discover that the inhabitants are ǧinn and these return to Mūsà the men who had fallen inside the castle.

Demombynes in the form of a commentary and notes to his translation of the Hundred and One Nights, and that by Gerhardt, M., *The Art of Story-Telling. A Literary Study of the Thousand and One Nights* (Leiden, 1963), pp. 195 and ff.

49. Besides the above-mentioned works, mention must be made of R. Basset's various works of a positivist nature but, nonetheless, of great interest for the numerous data they contribute; A.J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites* (reprint Wiesbaden, 1968) offers a cosmological vision and indicates the contacts between this legend and the literature of other Semitic languages. Finally, A. Hamori ("An Allegory from the Arabian Nights: The City of Brass", *B.S.O.A.S.,* XXXIV, 1971, 9-15) gives a simbolical interpretation and underlines the esoteric elements of the story as contained in the Arabian Nights.

50. *The Art of Story-Telling,* p. 211. To the above-mentioned texts by Gerhardt, we must add the one by al-Dīnawarī in *al-Aḫbār al-ṭiwāl,* p. 25.

51. The text which I have used from Ibn Ḥabīb's *Ta'rīḫ* was edited by M. 'A. Makkī as an appendix to his article "Egipto y los orígenes de la historiografía árabe-española", *R.I.E.E.I.,* V, 1957, 157-248. This "short" version of the history of the City of Brass is found on p. 229 of said edition.

52. Contrary to Gerhardt's affirmation, p. 212, because she did not know the edition done by Makkī. The account is on pp. 230-1 of Makkī's edition.

When questioned on what they had seen there, the soldiers replied that they remembered nothing.

Together with these two versions, Ibn Ḥabīb includes other references to the statues and, what is more important, he introduces an element that will later undergo considerable development: On various occasions, Mūsà discovers sealed jars or receptacles that contained the genies ruled by Solomon[53]. At this point, I should like to emphasize the fact that Ibn Ḥabīb did not situate this brass castle or fortress in al-Andalus but in an indeterminate place in the Magrib; the majority of later writers will vacilate between these two locations. If we observe the list of writers who have concerned themselves with this legend, we shall note that the majority are Oriental for whom al-Andalus as well as the far side of the Magrib belonged to a distant and changing world. Regarding the two Andalusian texts that deal with the theme, together with the one by Ibn Ḥabīb, we should point out that Abū Ḥāmid wrote his work in Mosul and, for this reason, when he situated the City of Brass in al-Andalus, this could not have possibly surprised his fellow countrymen. The K. al-Imāma wal-siyāsa, of uncertain authorship, faithfully follows Ibn Ḥabīb: the City of Brass was in the Magrib[54].

Among the versions that appeared after Ibn Ḥabīb's, the most important one is that by the geographer Ibn al-Faqīh, who is the first to introduce the name of Ḏū l-Qarnayn. In Ibn al-Faqīh we can find several of the elements already introduced by Ibn Ḥabīb: the figure of Mūsà, the city (called al-Baht due to the stone that attracts men and makes them die of laughter), the receptacles sealed by Solomon and that contain the ǧinn, the situation of the city in some place in the Magrib; but there are also some new features, such as the introduction, already mentioned, of Ḏū l-Qarnayn who, it is said, built the city of al-Baht in the Magrib of the same stone as its name indicates[55]. Moreover, Mūsà's expedition is no longer a casual fact, as it appears in Ibn Ḥabīb, but rather a response to an express order given by the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān who, having heard of the famous city, ordered him to search for it. The well-known letter written by Mūsà b. Nuṣayr stems from this; in it he relates his adventure and, according to al-Mas'ūdī (IV/X century), it was widely divulged[56].

53. *Ibidem,* pp. 229-30.

54. *Imāma,* pp. 151-3.

55. *Muḫtaṣar kitāb al-buldān* (Leiden, 1855), p. 71; however, on p. 53 (M. Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au III-IX siècles,* Algeria, 1949), the very same Ibn al-Faqīh states that al-Baht is one of the wonders of al-Andalus.

56. *Murūǧ,* I, p. 369. Gaudefroy-Demombynes has already stressed the parallelism bet-

Therefore, it seems likely that the core of the legend, together with the characteristics that would be repeated by later authors, was formed in the III/IX century. The Solomonic elements predominated and we can observe how al-Dīnawarī[57], al-Ṭabarī[58], Abū Ḥāmid[59], al-Qazwīnī[60], Yāqūt[61] and al-Bākuwī[62] all confirm the paternity of the mythical king of the Bible. But it is also attributed to Ḏū l-Qarnayn, although with some reserve, in Abū Ḥāmid[63], al-Qazwīnī and Yāqūt, and we must ask ourselves the reason for this attribution: if it is due to something more than a mere attempt to associate a whole class of legends with a mythical figure like Ḏū l-Qarnayn (an option which, in any case, we must not discard).

It is obvious that the association of the City of Brass with Ḏū l-Qarnayn did not originate in al-Andalus. Ibn Ḥabīb does not quote his sources; however, it is a known fact that during his stay in the East, he collected a whole series of traditions. As we have already indicated, the statue motif appears repeatedly in the texts about Mūsà that Ibn Ḥabīb included in his Ta'rīḫ; previously, we saw this same element applied to Alexander's journeys on the Sea of the Dark. A possible explanation may lie here, so much more so because the statues erected by Alexander, as well as some of the ones found by Mūsà, were made of brass. In Ibn Ḥabīb's Ta'rīh, Mūsà crosses a region of darkness: another possible parallelism with Alexander's journey. The City of Brass, like the legends on the Strait, is a place that indicates the end of the expedition, the place that cannot be entered[64]; it is logical, therefore, that the construction is attributed to

ween this order given by 'Abd al-Malik to Mūsà and the expedition sent by the Caliph al-Wātiq and mentioned by various writers, in search of the wall of Gog and Magog *(Cent et une nuits,* p.269). We should also point out that, in the Ummayad period, Prince Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik, whose inclination towards the sciences and traditions of the ancients is well documented, tried to enter the Cave of the Dark *(kahf al-ẓulumāt)* which Alexander had entered, according to what is related (al-Muqaddasī, *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī ma'rifat al-aqālim,* (edition by M.J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1906), p. 146; Grunebaum, G.E., *Medieval Islam. A Study in Cultural Orientation* (Chicago, 1953, p. 206).

57. *Al-Aḫbār al-ṭiwāl,* p. 25. For the figure of Solomon in Arabic legend, see Basset, R., "Salomon (Solaiman) dans les légendes musulmanes", *R.T.P.,* III, 1888, 353-9; September 1888, p. 503; October 1888, 489-90.

58. See Gerhardt, *op. cit.,* pp. 216-7.

59. *Tuḥfa,* pp. 61-4.

60. *Āṯār al-bilād* (edition by Wüstenfeld), pp. 375 and ff.

61. *Mu'ǧam al-buldān, s.v. Madīnat al-nuḥās.*

62. *Kitāb talḫīṣ al-āṯār wa-'aǧā'ib al-malik al-qahhār* (edition by Z.M. Buniiatov, Moscow, 1971), pp. 98-9 (translation) and folio 62b.

63. Quoted by Al-Qazwīnī, *loc. cit.*

64. See Wensinck, *The Ocean,* pp. 28 and ff.

Alexander who marked the limits of the world and attempted to go beyond them. Moreover, the City of Brass gives us the impression of being a kind of earthly paradise, now disappeared and unattainable, bringing to mind the accounts of the mythical city of Iram[65]. The myth of the hidden city thus begins to acquire a universal nature that allows it to be situated in very different places because it is associated with a series of expeditions that include from the mere ambition to discover treasures to those possible interpretations that we have been indicating and which would transform the City into the symbol of a journey or an impossible search for knowledge and, why not, for immortality. Thus we find references to a city of brass in India[66], a series of accounts that situate it in Egypt[67] and the legend incorporated in the history of the Persian kings[68].

III. As I pointed out in the beginning, all these legends (and many more associated with Alexander) were well known in al-Andalus. However, it is not easy to establish the first channels through which they were divulged because, among other reasons, they belong to a genre of little prestige in Arabic culture. It is relatively easy for us to reconstruct the channels through which works of ḥadīṯ and, even, of literature were transmitted but these legends were conserved primarily through oral tradition which, when written down, lacks a verifiable isnād. Any hypothesis on this theme will never be more than that, unless more extensive studies improve our knowledge of the intellectual life of al-Andalus during the first period. However, until the opportunity arises to find more information, I shall take the liberty to offer some suppositions with all the necessary reservations.

When 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb refers to the Brass Castle, he quotes "an Egyptian scholar"[69]. The importance of Egyptian tradition in Andalusian

65. See Basset, R., "Alexandre en Algerie", *R.T.P.,* April 1888, 219-20. For mythical palaces in Arabic literature, see Rubiera, M.J., *La arquitectura en la literatura árabe* (Madrid, 1981).

66. Al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūǧ,* IV, p. 95.

67. *L'Abrégé des merveilles,* pp. 293-4 (quoted by Gerhardt, *op. cit.,* p. 213). The sitting of this city in Egypt has been studied by R. Basset, *Le Dialecte de Syouah* (Paris, 1890), pp. 11-14. Al-Bakrī *(Description de l'Afrique Septentrionale,* pp. 15/38) describes one of the expeditions, made shortly after 420/1029, in search of the city hidden in the desert. More texts associated with this aspect of the theme are studied by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, M. in his "Notes sur les Mille et Une Nuits, Un épisode de la ville d'airain"., *R.T.P.,* XXII, June 1907, 193-198 and *Cent et une nuits,* pp. 267-8.

68. Al-Ṯa'ālibī, *Gurar aḫbār mulūk al-fars* (Paris, 1900), pp. 301 and ff. Here the city is called *al-madīna al-ṣufrīya* or *al-qal'a al-ṣufrīya,* but the account is completely different even though it is about a city that is difficult to reach.

69. *R.I.E.E.I.,* V, p. 230 (§ 23).

historiography has been studied in detail by M. 'A. Makkī[70]. It would be easy to attribute all these "fairy tales" to Egyptian influence, as has many times been the case. However, I want to point out that in Ibn Ḥabīb's text there is absolutely no mention of Alexander. As regards the other legends, and especially the cycle of the Strait of Gibraltar, the presence of a series of elements of South Arabian origin is thrown into relief. Unfortunately, the South Arabian tradition in al-Andalus has not been the object of an extensive study as is the case of the Egyptian (perhaps because its peculiar characteristics make it much more difficult to identify)[71]. We would have to have an exact knowledge of the extent to which the traditions dating back to Wahb b. Munabbih circulated in al-Andalus. We have seen that Ibn Sa'īd often quotes Ibn Hišām whose Kitāb al-Tīǧān includes a large part of the K. al-mulūk al-mutawwaǧa by Wahb. But Ibn Sa'īd is a writer belonging to the VI/XIII century and Ibn Hišām died in 213/828 or 218/833: are the intermediate links missing or did they not exist? Wahb's work was certainly known, at least in part, in al-Andalus, according to the Fihrist by Ibn Ḫayr[72], but the transmissions conserved by this bibliographer are not sufficient for our purpose. Until I have the opportunity to complete all the South Arabian traditions present in Islamic Spain by means of a more detailed study that will surpass the limits of the present work, I shall limit myself to emphasizing a series of data which R.G. Khoury has already brought to light in his book *Les légendes prophétiques dans l'Islam* (Wiesbaden, 1978). Khoury, who in this work edited the K. bad' al-ḫalq wa-qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' by 'Umāra b. Waṯīma al-Fasawī, points out that the author's father, Waṯīma b. Mūsà[73], who is in large part responsable for the K. bad' al-halq, transmitted in al-Andalus; Ibn Hišām al-Ḥaǧarī[74] also transmitted from him and is the author of a Qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā' in al-Andalus; like Watīma, he made great

70. In his above-mentioned article and his work *Ensayo sobre las aportaciones orientales en la España musulmana* (Madrid, 1968).

71. Its importance has been emphasized by K.A. Boïko, *Arabskaia istoricheskaia literatura v Ispanii* (Moscow, 1977) pp. 14-15.

72. *Fihrist* (edition by F. Codera, Zaragoza, 1893), pp. 291-2 and 294.

73. There are short biographies of this figure in three Andalusian biographical compendiums: Ibn al-Faraḍī, *Ta'rīḫ 'ulamā' al-Andalus* (Cairo, 1966) num. 1529; al-Ḥumaydī, *Ǧadwat al-muqtabis* (Cairo, 1372 h.), num. 857; al-Ḍabbī, *Bugyat al-multamis* (Madrid, 1887), num. 1415. See Khoury, R.G., "L'importance d'Ibn Lahī'a et de son papyrus conservé à Heidelberg dans la tradition musulmane du deuxième siècle de l'Hégire", *Arabica*, XXII, 1975, p. 11 and *Les légendes prophétiques*, p. 147.

74. Khoury, R.G., *Les légendes prophétiques*, p. 150; Sezgin, F., *G.A.S.*, I (Leiden, 1967), p. 306.

use of the work by Wahb. Both Waṯīma and Ibn Hišām lived at the end of the II/VIII century into the III/IX; Waṯīma died in Egypt, on returning from al-Andalus, in the same year as 'Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb. At present, the data available are not sufficient to be able to establish a direct line of transmission and even less so in the case of the legends on Alexander. This may, perhaps, be a direction that, in time, will lead us to a more tangible result and, for this reason, I believe that an attempt to go deeper into it is well worthwhile.

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Byzantine-Fatimid Relations in the Reign of Al-Mu'izz Li-Din Allah (R. 953-975 A.D.) as Reflected in Primary Arabic Sources

The Caliphate of the Fāṭimid al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh (r. 953-975) coincided with the reigns of four Byzantine Emperors, namely, Constantine VII, Romanus II, Nicephorous Phocas and John Zimisces. Under Al-Mu'izz, the Fāṭimids attained the zenith of their power: they were in full control of Sicily and, to a lesser degree, of North Africa; they conquered Egypt from the Ikhshīdids and took possession of Ikhshīdid dominions in Syria and the Ḥijāz.

In North Africa and the western Mediterranean, the Fāṭimids had bitter opponents in the Umayyads of Cordoba who traditionally exchanged envoys and presents and maintained amicable relations with Byzantium[1].

Following the Fāṭimid naval raid on Almeria in 955, the Umayyad Caliph Al-Nāṣir sought - and is said to have obtained - Byzantine assistance against the Fāṭimids who also constituted a threat to Byzantine territory in southern Italy[2].

In the East, the Ikhshidid dynasty (935-969) was virtually independent from the 'Abbāsid Caliphate in Baghdad. The Ḥamdānids under Sayf al-Dawla established for themselves an independent emirate in Aleppo, and the ultra-Shī'ite Qarmaṭīs of eastern Arabia overran Syria and Palestine.

Following the death of Constantine VII (959), the Byzantine Empire witnessed a period of resurgence. In the Balkans, the Bulgars and Russians were checked; Muslim Crete was regained (961), followed by Cyprus, Tarsus (965), Cilicia and Antioch (969). Since 957, the Ḥamdānids

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1. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muqtabas,* VII, 71-2; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *'Uyūn,* 493-4; Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayan,* II, 237-9; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl,* II, 38.
2. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Majālis,* 175-6; idem, *Iftitāḥ,* 336.

of Aleppo were on the defensive in the face of the persistent attacks mounted, with crusading fervour, by N. Phocas and J. Zimisces. Eventually, the Ḥamdānid emirs became tributary vassals of the Byzantines (970).

After the death of the Ikhshīdid Muḥammad b. Tughj (946), Egypt passed through a period of internal strife and weakness as a result of which Egypt and Syria became exposed to external attacks: the Byzantines raided al-Farma and Damietta (954, 958)[3]; the Qarmatis overran Syria (968) and the Fāṭimids conquered Egypt (969). It is this vacuum created by the weakness of the Ikhshīdids which invited Qarmaṭī raids in Syria and Palestine and led eventually to the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimids. At the same time, the Byzantines were advancing in Cicilia and northern Syria at the expense of the Ḥamdānids who could obtain help from nowhere.

It is this state of vacuum in Syria and Egypt which afforded al-Mu'izz the opportunity to achieve what his predecessors had earlier tried, in vain, to achieve, namely, the conquest of Egypt by his able general Jawhar who encountered no resistance whatsoever (969).

As soon as Egypt was conquered, Jawhar mounted an expedition to Syria, under the command of Ja'far b. Falāḥ al-Kutāmī, which defeated the remnants of the Ikhshīdids in Damascus. In 971, Ja'far despatched a force northwards in an attempt to dislodge the Byzantines from Antioch, but he had to withdraw it to meet a new incursion by the Qarmaṭīs at whose hands he was eventually routed and killed (September 971)[4]. The Qarmaṭīs advanced on Egypt twice (972, 974) until al-Mu'izz, now firmly established in Cairo, succeeded in chasing them out of Egypt and Syria.

Faced with the major expedition mounted against them by N. Phocas (July 960), the Muslims of Crete (Iqrīṭish) sought the assistance of the Ikhshīdid Kāfūr in vain[5]. Then they appealed to al-Mu'izz who promised to come to their rescue singly or in conjunction with the Ikhshīdids[6]. Christides's contention that al-Mu'izz's invitation to Kāfūr to join him in his planned expedition against the Byzantines in Crete was merely a trap for the capture or destruction of the Egyptian fleet[7] is not borne out by the actual text of the letter which was addressed by al-Mu'izz to the Ikhshīdid

3. Māhir, S., *al-Baḥriyya...*, 96.
4. Surūr, J., *al-Nufūdh...*, 122, 125.
5. *Majālis,* 445.
6. Ibid., 445-6.
7. Christides, V., *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs*, 189.

some nine years before Jawhar's arrival in Egypt. The beleaguered Muslims of Crete could not honestly have expected any effective assistance from an impotent Ikhshīdid Egypt, nor was al-Mu'izz prepared to put at risk his fleet in an unequal encounter with the much bigger Byzantine fleet engaged in the Cretan expedition.

Al-Mu'izz's promised help, however, did not materialize, and if any assistance did ever reach the Cretans, it was belated and amounted to no more than a small incursion[8]. Al-Mu'izz does not seem to have been serious about providing assistance to the Muslims of Crete since he was primarily preoccupied with his designs on Egypt and the East. Christides rightly states that Muslim Crete could have been rescued only by Egypt, had this country and Syria been still in possession of the mighty fleet they had under the Ṭulūnids, the predecessors of the Ikhshīdids[9]. Egypt's weakness, coupled with the fact that, having secured peace with the Bulgars, N. Phocas was able to muster a huge expedition, sealed the fate of Muslim Crete[10]. By their acquisition of Crete, the Byzantines regained a vital strategic and commercial position and re-emerged as the major naval power in the eastern Mediterranean so that N. Phocas could justifiably claim that naval power was his alone[11].

After conquering Egypt (969), Al-Mu'izz was preoccupied with securing his position in Syria against Qarmaṭī raids and was not, therefore, in a position to confront the Byzantines either in Crete or in northern Syria. The claim that al-Mu'izz despatched a flotilla in 969 to relieve beleaguered Ṭarsūs only to arrive three days after the city was captured by N. Phocas cannot be accepted as Ṭarsūs had already fallen into Byzantine hands four years earlier (965)[12].

Seizing the opportunity of Fāṭimid difficulties in Syria where they had to repel renewed Qarmaṭī raids and to face the incursion from Iraq of a Turkish adventurer, Aftakīn, John Zimisces, N. Phocas's successor, departed from Antioch in 1975, took Emesa (Ḥumṣ) and Baalbek, imposed a tribute on Damascus, took Tiberias and Caesarea, then Sidon and Beirut, and besieged Tripoli which he failed, however, to occupy thanks to the resistance of its garrison and the support provided by a Fāṭimid flottilla[13]. J. Zimisces was evidently intent on seizing Jerusalem

8. Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 57; Yāqūt, I, 236.
9. Christides, "The Raids of the Moslems of Crete in the Aegean Sea...", 102.
10. Idem, 106.
11. Vasiliev, *A History of the Byzantine Empire,* I, 308; Vryonis, *Byzantine and Europe,* 87; Diehl, C., *Byzantium,* 51.
12. Christides, "The Raids of the Moslems of Crete...", 190.
13. Māhir, 96.

as can be gleaned from his utterances which "breathed the veritable crusading spirit"[14]. Fāṭimid power in Palestine and the littoral, however, thwarted his designs. The expedition of J. Zimisces did not result in the annexation of new territory[15]. According to Barthold, "the entire account of Zimisces's invasion of Palestine belongs to the realm of fancy"[16]. In fact, despite his much-vaunted campaign in 975, J. Zimisces only managed to add a small coastal strip as far as Jabala, south of Antioch, to the Byzantine dominions[17].

In Sicily and southern Italy, however, the scales were definitely weighed in favour of the Fāṭimids. In 956 A.D., 'Ammār, brother of the Kalbite emir of Sicily, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, invaded Byzantine Calabria (Qilawriyya). In the meantime, however, a Byzantine force had attacked Sicily, taken Termini - just east of Palermo - and threatened Mazara. In 958, al-Ḥasan joined his brother in a concerted attack in Calabria and together they challenged the Byzantine fleet at Otranto[18].

The Fāṭimids took Taormina (December 962), settled it with a Muslim population a re-named it al-Mu'izziyya after the name of al-Mu'izz. After taking Mīqush, between Messina and Taormina, the Fāṭimid governor of Sicily, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, besieged Rometta, some nine miles to the west of Messina, and scored a major victory against a relieving Byzantine force led by Manuel, N. Phocas's uncle, at the Battle of al-Ḥufra outside Rometta (965). Chasing the fleeing survivors of al-Ḥufra, the Fāṭimids won in the same year a naval engagement in the Strait of Messina, hence famous in Fāṭimid annals as the Battle of the Strait *(Waq'at al-majāz)*, against a Byzantine squadron under the command of the famous Byzantine admiral Nicetas who had conquered Cyprus earlier in the same year (965). The victorious Muslim army went on to mount a series of incursions in Byzantine Calabria and Apulia, thereby reestablishing a Muslim foothold in southern Italy and threatening the Lombard city of Benevento[19]. N. Phocas is said to have learnt of these Byzantine reverses in Sicily and Calabria while besieging the stronghold of al-Maṣṣīṣa in Cilicia (965) whereupon he hastened back to Constantinople[20]. Because of these incessant Muslim raids in Calabria, the

14. Ostrogorsky, *The History of the Byzantine State,* 297.
15. Vasiliev, I, 311.
16. Vasiliev, I, 310, n. 28.
17. Previté-Orton, C.W., *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History,* I, 263.
18. Aḥmad, 'Azīz, *A History of Islamic Sicily,* 34.
19. Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 5, 11-12; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat...,* 472; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *A'māl,* III, 123. See also al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Iftitāḥ,* 336-7.
20. Nuwayrī, 474.

Byzantine commander of the fleet and the troops is said by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān to have pleaded for peace, to have offered to pay al-Mu'izz a tribute on behalf of his co-religionists in Calabria and to call, perforce, at the Caliph's court[21].

Thus the five-year peace *(hudna)* concluded in 957 between Constantine VII an al-Mu'izz was broken by the latter shortly after the Byzantine invasion of Crete. It was probably al-Mu'izz's retaliatory measure against the Byzantines for their invasion of Crete.

According to Arab sources, peace was eventually concluded between al-Mu'izz and the *domesticus*[22] (i.e. N. Phocas) in 356 A.H./967 A.D. and presents were sent by the latter to al-Mu'izz. Meanwhile, as a precautionary measure, al-Mu'izz instructed the Governor of Sicily, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan, to repair the walls and fortifications of Rometta, Taormina and other strongholds in Sicily[24]. These same Arab sources add, however, that two years later (i.e. 969), al-Mu'izz received a present *(hadiyya)* from the Byzantine Emperor (N. Phocas) shortly after which al-Mu'izz surprisingly instructed the same Governor of Sicily to evacuate Taormina and Rometta - "at which the Muslims were distressed" - and proceeded to recall the emir of Sicily, Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan - who seems to have pursued a somewhat hawkish policy towards the Byzantines and to have been bent on continuing the struggle against them in southern Italy - and replaced him by his brother Abu 'l-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan[25].

The Eastern traveller Ibn Ḥawqal, who visited Sicily in 973, states that the Governor of Sicily receives the tribute of the Byzantines "which is the mandatory tribute delivered annually by the people of Calabria"[26].

The Byzantines achieved some measure of success in Syria and reconquered Crete, "but they encountered severe defeats in Sicily and ultimately recognized Fāṭimid sovereignty there"[27]. In Sicily, says Vasiliev, the policy of N. Phocas was a failure. "In his time, the last points in Sicily which still belonged to the Empire were conquered by the Muslims so that Sicily was completely in their hands"[28].

21. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Iftitāḥ,* 337.
22. According to Abu 'l-Fidā', *"al-domestiq* is the name given by the Byzantines to the person who is charged with administering Byzantine territory east of the Gulf of Constantinople [Golden Horn], *Mukhtaṣar...,* II, 111.
23. Nuwayrī, 475.
24. Idem, 475.
25. Idem, 475.
26. Ibn Ḥawqal, 124.
27. Ḥamdānī, A., "Some Considerations on the Fāṭimid Caliphate as a Mediterranean Power", 387.
28. Vasiliev, I, 309.

In southern Italy, the Byzantines had also to face the menace of the German Emperor Otto the Great who, upon assuming the imperial title in 962, strove to become ruler of Italy and to expel both Muslims and Byzantines from the south. Despite the arranged marriage in 972 of Otto's son and successor Otto II to a Greek princess, the conflict with the Byzantines did not, as had been hoped for, cease completely. To counter the German menace, the Byzantines occasionally had to resort to seeking Muslim assistance against the Germans[29].

The period under consideration (953-975) witnessed a marked growth in the Byzantine fleet which became a true and specialist navy compared with the multi-purpose and utilitarian types of Arab ships in the Mediterranean[30]. It also witnessed the recruitment of new elements such as Russians and Nordic Varangians to serve in the Byzantine navy's expeditions and operations in the Aegean and in Sicilian waters[31]. For his part, al-Mu'izz sought to strengthen the Fāṭimid navy by setting up a new shipyard *(dār al-ṣinā'a)* at al-Maqs, the predecessor of Būlāq as Cairo's port and, consequently, the Egyptian navy is said to have numbered 600 vessels. In addition to the Maqs ship-yard, there were sip-yards in Alexandria, Damietta and Rawḍa (Roda) Island[32]. Nevertheless, the Fāṭimids were ever short of timber for their ship-building yards as indicated in several remarks in the book devoted to the life of al-Mu'izz's trusted chamberlain and close confidant Jūdhar *(Sīrat Jūdhar)* concerning the import of Sicilian timber[33]. The Byzantines repeatedly imposed embargos on exporting timber and other war materials to the Muslims, but these embargos were often flouted by merchants from the Italian maritime cities who were keen on the considerable profits to be gained by such trade. In 971, the Byzantine navy set fire to three Venetian ships loaded with wood, two of which were about to leave for Mahdiyya in Ifrīqiya, and one for Tripoli[34]. Indeed, as Lombard remarks, the timber supply was both cause and effect of Muslim-Byzantine rivalry. In a number of verses, Ibn Hānī, al-Mu'izz's celebrated court poet (d. 362/973) refers in boasting terms to the might of the Fāṭimid fleet and to its flame throwing warships.

29. Vasiliev, I, 328; Ostrogorsky, 296-7; Norwich, J.J., *The Normans in the South,* 13.
30. Kreutz, Barbara M., "Ships, Shipping and the Implications of Change in the Early Medieval Mediterranean", *Viator,* 7 (1976), 96.
31. Vasiliev, I, 307.
32. Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* III, 378; Idem, *Itti'āẓ,* 138; Sālim, S.A. and 'Abbādī, A.M., *Tārīkh al-baḥriyya...,* 87-88.
33. *Sīrat Jūdhar,* 116-7, 121.
34. Lombard, M., *The Golden Age of Islam,* 176.

To sum up, the confrontation between the Byzantines and the Fāṭimids in Sicily and southern Italy was definitely in favour of the Fāṭimids by 975, whereas in the eastern Mediterranean basin, as well as in northern Syria, it was in favour of the Byzantines. In 970, the emir of Aleppo became a tributary vassal of the Byzantines. In the rest of Syria, however, the Fāṭimid position grew stronger after the Qarmaṭīs had been driven out of Syria and Palestine, although a new short-lived menace loomed in the person of a Turkish adventurer, Aftakīn who, on being driven out of Baghdad, arrived in Syria where he seized Damascus and a number of coastal towns[35].

Meanwhile, Byzantine envoys continued to call on al-Mu'izz in Cairo as they had done in Mahdiyya, though we hear of no Fāṭimid envoys being reciprocally sent to Constantinople in spite of repeated requests made to al-Mu'izz by Byzantine emissaries to despatch such envoys in return[36]. One such Byzantine envoy, Nicoló, was received by al-Mu'izz in Cairo just before the latter's death in December 975 and, according to one Arab account, Nicoló observed, in private conversation with the Caliph, that the Fāṭimid state in Egypt seemed to him less impressive and had less grandeur than the one he had witnessed during an earlier mission to the Caliph in Mahdiyya. Upon hearing this, al-Mu'izz is said to have become so distressed that he soon passed away[37].

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35. Ibn al-Athīr, VII, 62-65; Abu 'l-Fidā', II, 115.
36. Majālis, 69.
37. Ibn abī Dīnār, 64-65.

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APPENDICES

I Byzantine Umayyad Alliance Against the Fāṭimids.
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APPENDIX I

BYZANTINE-UMAYYAD ALLIANCE AGAINST THE FATIMIDS

"After having written to the Byzantine Emperor [lit. tyrant] seeking his assistance, he [al-Nāṣir] sent him presents and envoys. The Emperor complied with the request. Byzantine warships arrived from Constantinople, and so did Umayyad warships from al-Andalus.

The Caliph [al-Mu'izz] held a meeting with his councellors and informed them of developments. He told them that the Byzantines asked him to conclude with them a long-term truce so that they might withdraw. The Caliph said to his counsellors, "What is your advice in this matter?" They said, "The Commander of the Believers knows best. As for us, we think that a truce should be concluded with the Byzantines and that we should mobilize all our forces against the Umayyad. Al-Mu'izz said, "God forbid! I shall begin with those whom God has enjoined us to fight..."

The Caliph proceeded to al-Mahdiyya and dispatched his naval squadrons, with troops on board, to attack Byzantine territory... He also gave orders that troops be stationed in all parts on the way to al-Andalus.

The Byzantine fleet arrived and encountered the Caliph's fleet off Sicily. The Umayyad fleet also arrived for a rendezvous, as planned, with the Byzantine fleet. The Byzantines were defeated at sea and al-Mu'izz's

troops killed a large number of Byzantines. Vanquished by the Caliph's warships, the Byzantines fled towards the Strait of Reggio *(majāz rayyū)* in order to defend their land. The Fāṭimids followed them to the Strait and inflicted another defeat on the enemy fleet. They landed in [Calabria], killed many of the enemy, burnt their towns and demolished their curches...

The Byzantine King sent great sums and notable presents to the Commander of the Believers and asked that hostilities cease against the remnants of the Byzantines in Calabria. He undertook to pay tribute on behalf of the Calabrians as well as to hand prisoners of war from the East to be released annually in lieu of a truce for a short period. The Commander of the Believers saw that that was to the advantage of the Faith and of Muslims after God had given him and the Muslims victory...

On learning this, the Umayyad fleet feared defeat and sought to contact al-Mu'izz indirectly through an emissary. Al-Mu'izz's reply was as follows:

"The polytheists [i.e. the Byzantines] have sought peace, and some of our confidants were in favour of the idea so that we might concentrate on confronting you [the Umayyad al-Nāṣir], but we refused to do this lest – the polytheist should think that we concluded peace out of fear of you and them. Having defeated their fleet and redoubtable warriors, and having landed in their territory killing large numbers of them, and after our troops had seized plenty of prisoners and booty, we saw that it was to the advantage of Muslims for us to conclude a truce with them for a short period during which we can recover our strength. We, therefore, granted peace to them on condition that their King undertakes to pay us amounts of money - a thing which he does not normally undertake to do to anyone, except us, in the East or in the West. He undertook to pay us tribute and to release the Eastern prisoners he holds, as well as other conditions too long to relate, imposed by us, as is the case between the strong and the weak...

Nevertheless, he [i.e. al-Nāṣir] proudly claims, following the failure of his men, that he had sent them to al-Mahdiyya. Indeed, this was his agreement with the tyrant of Constantinople (i.e. Constantine VII). Thus each one of them came to us with his fleet. The polytheist entered our sea and bypassed Sicily, a thing which they [i.e. the Byzantines] had never dared to do in our reign but for the encouragement given by your master [i.e. al-Nāṣir]. But God defeated the two hosts and enabled us to score victory over both of them...

Part of the [Umayyad] message stated that the Byzantines - as alleged by its author - won victory over us, took a large number of prisoners from our fleet and that we concluded peace with them, thereby giving priority to fighting the Muslims."

Al-Mu'izz said, "Are you not surprised by this traitor and liar? Had he [i.e. al-Nāṣir] made such claims to his people, his action would have been an outrageous and ugly lie. But to put these claims in writing to him who knows that they are false and devoid of truth?

Have you heard that the Byzantines captured any of our Muslim subjects apart from the occupants of the cargo vessel which was intercepted by them? But we recovered the vessel and, in one of the clauses of the peace we concluded with them, we stipulated that they hand to us the Eastern prisoners whom they had captured together with their seized possessions. However, when they [i.e. the Byzantines] asked and requested that we release to them the men, women and offspring we had captured and taken as booty, we declined their request and did not release a single soul, out of glory for Islam and its adherents and so as to humble unbelief *(kufr)* and its followers. Is this traitor [i.e. al-Nāṣir] not ashamed to be telling these lies and fabrications?"

(Al-majālis wa 'l-musāyarāt, pp. 166-180)

APPENDIX II

ARRIVAL OF BYZANTINE ENVOY AT AL-MU'IZZ'S COURT

A Byzantine patrician *(baṭrīq)* and nobleman arrived at the Caliph's court as an envoy of the lord of Constantinople carrying the tribute which the latter had undertaken to pay for Calabria as he does every year. He also brought with him many presents, vessels of gold and silver inlaid with jewels, embroidery, silk, nard and other precious articles of theirs. The envoy also carried a letter from his master in which he implored [al-Mu'izz] to terminate hostilities against him and begged for a truce. He also sent a large number of prisoners from the East, an act which no Byzantine monarch had ever done before in dealings with the kings of the Maghrib or with al-Mu'izz's predecessors, nor did it ever happen that Byzantine monarch paid to other kings any tribute for any of his co-religionists.

The envoy repeatedly kissed the earth in the presence of al-Mu'izz, then stood up and handed his master's letter and sought permission to bring in the presents. This took place after the tribute reached, as usual,

the Governor of Sicily. The Commander of the Believers gave his permission for the present to be brought in and kindly accepted it.

In the message, the Byzantine monarch kindly requested a perpetual truce on condition that the monarch would pay the customary tribute for the people of Calabria. He also asked for the dispatch of an envoy by the Caliph as this would please him and enable him to accord him due honour as token of his love, as he alleged, and sympathy.

Al-Mu'izz told the envoy that the religion and the canon law *(sharī'a)* did not sanction the conclusion of a perpetual truce as requested, as a truce may be conclused only for the duration of a specified period as the Imām of the Muslims sees advantageous to them and to Islam. Had the truce been a perpetual one, then the holy war *(jihād)* which is enjoined on Muslims would have been negated, the call for Islam would have ceased and the command of the Qur'ān been contravened.

The envoy then asked the Caliph for a prolongation of the truce. Al-Mu'izz said, "We have already given our reply to this request in the letter we had handed to you before, namely, as long as he honoured our conditions and the obligations he had undertaken we shall not, on our part, start war against him before we repudiate our compact to him or after the period of the truce between us had expired. We shall not break our undertaking or act treacherously as you do." He enumerated a number of breaches on their part. The envoy apologized on behalf of his king saying that such breaches were not committed by the king and that the perpetrators were punished by him...

He [al-Mu'izz] began to ask the envoy, at length, about the state of relations between them [the Byzantines] and the people of Tarsus and Ibn Ḥamdān [Sayf al-Dawla] with regard to their wars and their treatment of them. The envoy [lit. barbarian, *'ilj]* replied to all these queries...

The envoy *('ilj)* again requested that al-Mu'izz send an envoy to his king saying that Byzantine envoys used to be regularly dispatched to al-Mu'izz and to his ancestors since assuming power whereas no envoys had ever been dispatched to the Byzantine king by al-Mu'izz and his ancestors.

In reply, al-Mu'izz said that he who sent an envoy to someone did so either because he was in need of the other person or because he had an obligation towards him. "Thanks to God, we are not aware that we stand in need of anything from your master nor are we obliged to him. Why, then, should we dispatch an envoy to him?"

(Al-Majālis wa 'l-musāyarāt, pp. 366-9)

APPENDIX III

FIVE-YEAR TRUCE CONCLUDED BETWEEN AL-MU'IZZ AND THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR (CONSTANTINE VII) TRUCE REPUDIATED FOLLOWING BYZANTINE ATTACK ON CRETE

The Byzantine Emperor [lit. tyrant] had expressed his wish to the Caliph for a truce and, to bring about this, he had offered a large amount of money. He sought a long-term or, if possible, a perpetual truce. Seeing that such a truce would be to the advantage of Islam and Muslims and that the Muslims would, in the meantime, recover their strength and become in a position to fight the polytheists, the Caliph agreed to a five-year truce [in 346 A.H./957 A.D.].

Before the truce was due to expire, however, al-Mu'izz learnt that [the Emperor Constantine VII] had sent the *domesticus* - the closest man to him - at the head of numerous vessels and a considerable number of men against Iqrītish (Crete) whose rulers were under nominal 'Abbāsid suzerainty.

Unable to repel the [Byzantine] attack on their own, and wawre that the 'Abbāsids were not in a position to assist them, the people of Crete dispatched one of their ships carrying one of their notables to the Caliph al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh seeking his help and support. Despite the fact that the Cretans had deviated from him and had joined the 'Abbāsid cause, the Caliph decided to realize their hopes and to deliver them from the polytheists. On learning of the Cretan mission and before the arrival of the envoy, however, al-Mu'izz gave orders for preparedness so that the fleet could be dispatched to their assistance as early as possible. Eventually, the envoy arrived and conveyed to the Caliph the message he had been entrusted with by his people.

As ordered by God in His Book, al-Mu'izz decided to repudiate his pledge to the polytheist if he insisted or waging war against the people of Crete. The Caliph ordered that a letter be sent to him [the Byzantine King] on the matter and he dictated to his secretary its contents. I have heard nothing to compare with his words in eloquence and brilliance. After giving the Byzantine King the option of either ceasing hostilities against the people of Crete or the repudiation by the Caliph of the pact between them, the Caliph said in his letter, "Do not think that the loyalty of the people of Crete was to others [i.e. the 'Abbāsids]. They have now turned to us and sought our assistance. The terms of the truce are not, there-

fore, binding on us by forsaking them to you and giving you a free hand to attack them. Crete, as well as all land, belongs to us...

Should you persist in waging war on a people who have turned to us, your pact is hereby repudiated. Take care of yourself and your co-religionists for we have decided to carry out war against you and them, with God's help and support".

(*Al-Majālis wa 'l-musāyarāt,* p. 442-4).

APPENDIX IV

SĪRAT AL-USTĀDH JŪDHAR: TWO ACCOUNTS (Biography of the Chamberlain Jūdhar)

1. Order was given by the Caliph [al-Mu'izz] to al-Ustādh Jūdhar instructing him to write to Nuṣayr, his deputy in Mahdiyya, telling him to ask the mat-makers *(al-Huṣriyyūn)* to make a prayer mat for the Slav *(al-ṣaqlabī)* who who was captured [and apparently embraced Islam] by al-Ḥasan b. 'Ammār b. Abī al-Ḥusayn at the battle known as al-Ḥufra [near Rometta, in 965] and to indicate to them what they should inscribe on its fringe *(ṭirāz)*... The mat was finished... and it was made of gold, and the manufacturers did a fine job of it...

(*Sīrat al-ustādh Jūdhar,* p. 88)

2. News from Sicily to the Caliph [al-Mu'izz] was delayed and no letter or emissary arrived from there. As a result, the Caliph and people became uneasy. While al-Ustādh Jūdhar was sitting at home, the following note arrived in the hand of the Caliph who wanted to bring joy to Jūdhar's heart: "We bring you good tidings... Couriers *(furāaniqūn)* have arrived with the news that Rabāḥ, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī's slave, arrived and was on his way to us. The couriers said that they had learnt from the passengers who had accompanied him that the polytheist *(mushrik)* had sent fifteen vessels carrying Muslim prisoners, presents and other items, and that they were on their way to us. When this happens, with God's favour, the polytheist will fall into a trap *(ḥaṣal)* and this will lead, God willing, to the perdition of every pagan".

(*Sīrat al-ustādh Jūdhar,* p. 125)

APPENDIX V

MUSLIMS OF CRETE PLEAD TO THE IKHSHIDID RULER OF EGYPT FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST BYZANTINE INVASION

The people of Crete sought the assistance of the lord *(ṣāḥib)* of Egypt with whom they are united in loyalty to the 'Abbāsids. Cretan vessels carry provisions from the island to feed the people of Egypt, and presents are sent by them to the gorvenor of Egypt. The ruler of Egypt, however, failed in coming to their rescue and looked for someone in Egypt to write to [al-Mu'izz] requesting his assistance for the deliverance of the Cretans. He also sent a Cretan delegation to seek his assistance. Pretending that he was sending a force to support the Cretans, the ruler of Egypt ordered a number of vessels to be put to sea after he had learnt that the populace were resentful of his failure to go to the rescue of the Cretans.

The Caliph al-Mu'izz wrote to his correspondent in Egypt replying to his letter and informing him that he had already given his orders for the ships to be prepared and supplied. In his letter to the correspondent, the Caliph said, "Tell your fellow that God has given us of his help and support what enabled us to check the pagans from encroaching and waging war in this land [i.e. the Maghrib] and its inhabitants. We have learnt that you have decided to wage a holy war *(jihād)* and to send your vessels in support of the people of Crete. Indeed, you should be the first to provide assistance on account of their proximity to, and relations with, you, the food supplies they provide to your country and because both of you share one loyalty. Now, if we were to leave them to you and fail to assist them, neither you nor they can blame us... They have now come to entreat our assistance. We do not prevent you from pursuing the *Jihād* in the path of God and from carrying out what you have planned. When you learn about the departure of our vessels do not let this give you an excuse for not pursuing what you have planned, nor should you entertain any fears that your men and vessels will be attacked by us. We give you God's pledge that we shall tread with them the path of good, shall treat them like our own men, shall join hands with them and share booty with them. We will hold them in the same position as we hold our men; likewise, your vessels, until God gives us victory, after which they will return to you... Be sure of this and have trust in us, for the glory of God's faith and the crushing of His enemies lie in the co-operation of Muslims and the closing of their ranks against their enemy. Now we have made things easy for you, and God bears witness to what we say.

Should you trust my word and prefer the *jihād,* arrange for your vessels to be dispatched forthwith to Ṭubna [Bomba?] harbour on the coast of Cyrenaica in view of the proximity of this harbour to the island of Crete. There they will be joined by our vessels at the beginning of the month of Rabīʻ II [350 A.H./May 20, 961 A.D.]...

Should you, on the other hand, not agree with this [suggestion], we have tried our best to advise you and we are, therefore, excused from our duty towards you. In this case, and with God's power, support and help, we stand in need of neither you nor of others, and we are determined to send forthwith our vessels, men, supplies and all that God has empowered us with, and you will see that we shall achieve what we have set out to achieve".

(*Al-majālis wa 'l-musāyarāt,* pp. 444-6)

APPENDIX VI

CRETAN ENVOY ARRIVES AT AL-MU'ZZI'S COURT TO PLEAD FOR ASSISTANCE AGAINST BYZANTINE INVASION

When the envoy of the people of Crete arrived, al-Muʻizz received him. The envoy kissed the ground several times and delivered to him the appeal by the people of Crete for assistance. The envoy explained to the Caliph the importance of the island, its situation with regard to Byzantine territory and to Egypt, and that it was an oulet *[furḍa]* to both. Consequently, if God were to enable him to repel the polytheists and to seize it, that will lead, God willing, to the conquest of Constantinople and the East. The envoy enumerated the island's riches *['ālāt],* its mineral wealth, its timber for the construction of ships, and its proximity to both Constantinople and Egypt.

Al-Muʻizz said, "We shall, with God's power, fulfil the hopes you have set on us. We have given our orders for the fleet to be equipped the moment we learnt that you were on your way to us. Had your compatriots sent you earlier, our fleet would have been with them now. We pray to God, now that the people of Crete have sought our help, that He will give them strength and enable them to resist until our ships reach them and to help us deliver them, as we have been accustomed to receive His support and victory. Our intention in this is to perform what God has enjoined on us, namely the *jihād* against our enemy and to assist and save those

of our grandfather's [i.e. the Prophet] nation who have reverted to us.

As for the wealth of this world, God has bestowed on us of it more than one can ever hope for. Be assured and stay with us until you can return home with your companions on board our ships".

The Caliph added that two of the envoy's companions proceed, together with a delegation from him, to the people of Crete carrying his reply to them and to inform them of his determination to come to their rescue and support as early as possible.

(*Al-majālis wa 'l-musāyarāt,* pp. 446-7)

APPENDIX VII

YAQUT'S ACCOUNT OF BYZANTINE RECONQUEST OF CRETE

[Iqrīṭish/Crete] was one of the Muslim countries that caused most harm to the Byzantines, until Nicophor Phocas, the *domesticus,* landed in it in the reign of [the 'Abbāsid] Caliph al-Muṭīʻ [r. 946-974] and the reign of Romanus, son of Constantine [Romanus II reigned 959-963] at the end of Jumādā I, 349 [July 28, 960] at the head of 72,000 men, including 5,000 horse. He went on beseiging it [the capital al-Khandaq] until he took it by force, through war and starvation, in the middle of Muḥarram, 350 [March 7, 961]. He killed, plundered and took prisoners. He took the lord of the island 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shuʻayb, a descendant of Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. 'Isā of al-Andalus, his possessions and kinsmen to Constantinople. It is said that he carried to Constantinople about 300 vessels loaded with captives and possessions. They [the Byzantines] demolished the buildings of the city [al-Khandaq] and threw their stones in the harbour which their vessels had entered so that no enemy could enter it after them.

(*Muʻjam al-buldān,* I, p. 236, s.v. *Iqrīṭish*)

Ἀνεπίσημες ἀνταλλαγές, ἐξαγορές καί ἀπελευθερώσεις Βυζαντινῶν καί Ἀράβων αἰχμαλώτων

Οἱ ἐπίσημες ἀνταλλαγές μεταξύ Βυζαντινῶν καί Ἀράβων αἰχμαλώτων ἄρχισαν κατά τήν ἐποχή τῶν Ἀβασσιδῶν[1]. Βυζαντινοί καί Ἄραβες ἔνοιωσαν ἐπιτακτική τήν ἀνάγκη νά ἀναβαθμίσουν τίς σποραδικές ἀνταλλαγές αἰχμαλώτων, νά τίς ἐπισημοποιήσουν καί νά τίς ρυθμίσουν μέ τρόπο σταθερό. Ἔτσι μετά ἀπό είδικές συμφωνίες μεταξύ τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων καί τῶν χαλιφῶν οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι καί ἀπό τίς δύο πλευρές συγκεντρώνονταν στήν πόλη Λάμος τῆς Μικρᾶς Ἀσίας ὅπου ὑπῆρχαν δύο παράλληλες γέφυρες, ἀπό τή μία περνοῦσαν ἕνας πρός ἕνα οἱ Βυζαντινοί καί ἀπό τήν ἄλλη οἱ Ἄραβες αἰχμάλωτοι πού ἀνταλλάσσονταν[2]. Ὅσοι περίσσευαν ἀπό ὁποιαδήποτε μεριά ἐξαγοράζονταν.

Ἀνεπίσημες ἀνταλλαγές μεταξύ Βυζαντινῶν καί Ἀράβων εἶχαν πάντως ἀρχίσει ἤδη ἀπό τήν ἐποχή τῶν ἀραβικῶν κατακτήσεων καί συνεχίστηκαν, ὄχι πολύ συχνά, καί μετά τήν καθιέρωση τῶν ἐπίσημων ἀνταλλαγῶν.

Πρίν νά ἀρχίσουμε τήν ἐξέταση τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων μεταξύ Βυζαντινῶν καί Ἀράβων θά παρουσιάσω συνοπτικά τήν παράδοση πού ἐπικρατοῦσε καί στίς δύο πλευρές σχετικά μέ τό θέμα αὐτό.

Τελικά καί στίς δύο παρατάξεις οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι βρίσκονταν στό ἔλεος τῶν νικητῶν. Στήν Ἀνατολή ἤδη ἀπό τήν ἐποχή τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔχουμε πολυάριθμες ἐπιγραφές πού ἀναφέρονται στούς αἰχμαλώτους[3]. Ἀρχικά ἡ λέξη "arad" πού σημαίνει σκλάβος καί χρησιμοποιεῖται καί γιά τούς αἰχμαλώτους. Ἀργότερα συναντᾶμε ἐπίσης τή λέξη "erin" πού

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1. Βλ. τήν ἐργασία μου, Rashad A. Khouri al-Odetallah, *Ἄραβες καί Βυζαντινοί: τό πρόβλημα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πολέμου,* Θεσσαλονίκη 1983.
2. Ἀνταλλαγές γινόντουσαν καί στόν παραπόταμο Balandon, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh,* ἔκδ. Βηρυτοῦ, 1986, σ. 160.
3. S.I. Feign, "The Captives in Cuneiform Inscriptions", *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 50 (1933-34), 217-245.

σημαίνει ἐργάτης/στρατιώτης[4]. Φαίνεται ὅτι βαθμιαῖα οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι χρησιμοποιοῦνταν καί ὡς μισθοφόροι. Ἀπό τίς ἐπιγραφές πάντως φαίνεται ὅτι ἕνας μεγάλος ἀριθμός αἰχμαλώτων πέθαινε ἀπό τίς κακουχίες.

Στόν ἑλληνο-ρωμαϊκό κόσμο ἡ κατάσταση τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἦταν ἐπίσης θλιβερή. Χαρακτηριστικά γράφει ὁ Ὅμηρος ὅτι «ὅποιος συλλαμβάνεται αἰχμάλωτος χάνει τή μισή του ἀρετή»[5]. Ἀκόμη καί μετά τήν ἐπικράτηση τοῦ χριστιανισμοῦ οἱ αὐτοκράτορες παρουσιάζονται στή βυζαντινή εἰκονογραφία ποδοπατώντας τούς αἰχμαλώτους[6].

Λίγο πρίν ἀπό τίς κατακτήσεις τῶν Ἀράβων στίς ἀρχές τοῦ 7ου αἰώνα Ἄραβες καί Βυζαντινοί χωρίς νά λαμβάνουν ἰδιαίτερη πρόνοια γιά τούς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποφεύγουν γενικά τή θανάτωσή τους καί ἀνταλλάσσουν τούς πιό διαλεκτούς μέ δικούς τους αἰχμαλώτους ἤ τούς ἐξαγοράζουν. Ἔτσι, κατά τή διάρκεια τῶν ἐπιδρομῶν πού ἔκαναν οἱ ὀπαδοί τοῦ προφήτη Μωχάμετ ἀπό τή Μεδίνα ἐναντίον τῶν κατοίκων τῆς Μέκκας, οἱ πιό ἀξιόλογοι αἰχμάλωτοι ἀπελευθερώνονταν μέ χρήματα, ἐνῶ γιά τούς λοιπούς ὁ προφήτης Μωχάμετ ἔδωσε ἐντολή νά ἀπελευθερώνονται χωρίς ἀμοιβή[6b].

Ἀπό τίς ἀνεπίσημες ἀνταλλαγές μεταξύ Βυζαντινῶν καί Ἀράβων θά ἀναφέρω τρεῖς χαρακτηριστικές περιπτώσεις πού ἀναφέρονται στήν περίοδο πού προηγήθηκε τῆς συστηματοποίησής τους (804)[7]. Ἡ πρώτη ἀναφέρεται στήν ἐποχή τῆς κατάκτησης τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀπό τόν Ἄραβα στρατηγό ʻAmr bn. al-Aṣ[7b]. Ὅταν ὁ στρατηγός αὐτός πολιορκοῦσε τήν Ἀλεξάνδρεια καί συζητοῦσε μέ τίς ἀρχές τῆς πόλης τόν τρόπο παράδοσής της, ἀνάμεσα στά αἰτήματα τῶν πολιορκημένων ἦταν καί ἡ ἀπελευθέρωση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν αἰχμαλώτων[8]. Τό αἴτημα αὐτό ἔφερε σέ δύσκολη θέση τόν ʻAmr γιατί δέν ὑπῆρχε ἀκόμη συγκεκριμένη πολιτική τῶν Μουσουλμάνων στό θέμα αὐτό. Τό Κοράνι ἀναφέρεται μόνο γενικά στό θέμα τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καί γι' αὐτό οἱ Μου-

4. I.J. Gelb, "Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia", *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 23 (1964), 96.
5. Ὀδυσ. 17, 322 κ.ἑ.
6. Annalina Calo Levi, *Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture,* New York 1952, 2 Βλ. ἐπίσης V. Christides, "Arabs as 'Barbaroi' before the Rise of Islam", *Balkan Studies* 10 (1969), 318.
6b. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muḥammad, Prophet and Statesman,* Oxford 1961, 123.
7. Khouri, σ. 68 γιά τίς ἀνεπίσημες ἀνταλλαγές μετά τήν ὁριστικοποίησή τους.
7b. Γιά τήν κατάκτηση τῆς Αἰγύπτου βλ. τό ἄρθρο τοῦ V. Christides, "Miṣr", στή δεύτερη ἔκδοση τῆς ἐγκυκλοπαίδειας τοῦ Ἰσλάμ.
8. Γιά τίς διάφορες παραλλαγές τῆς παράδοσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, βλ. D.R. Hill, *The Termination of Hostilities in the Early Arab Conquests,* London 1971.

σουλμάνοι νομομαθεῖς τό ἀντιμετώπισαν μέ διαφορετικούς ἀντικρουόμενους τρόπους[9]. Τελικά τήν ἐποχή τῶν Ἀββασιδῶν ἐξαιτίας τῆς ἀδήριτης ἀνάγκης γιά ἀνταλλαγή αἰχμαλώτων μέ τούς Βυζαντινούς οἱ Μουσουλμάνοι νομομαθεῖς κατέληξαν σέ ὁρισμένους συμβιβαστικούς κανόνες πού ρύθμιζαν τίς προϋποθέσεις καί τούς τρόπους ἀνταλλαγῆς αἰχμαλώτων.

Ὁ ʻAmr τελικά ἀποφάσισε νά ζητήσει τήν γνώμη τοῦ χαλίφη Umar στο θέμα αὐτό. Ὁ Umar τοῦ ἀπάντησε ὅτι ὅσοι Βυζαντινοί αἰχμάλωτοι εἶχαν ἤδη μεταφερθεῖ στήν Ἀραβία καί πουλήθηκαν δέν μποροῦσαν νά ἐπιστραφοῦν, ἐνῶ αὐτοί πού ἀκόμη βρίσκονταν στήν Αἴγυπτο μποροῦσαν νά ἐπιστραφοῦν. Ὁ ʻAmr, ἐνεργώντας σύμφωνα μέ τίς ὁδηγίες τοῦ χαλίφη Umar, ἀποφάσισε τήν ἀπελευθέρωση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν αἰχμαλώτων.

Ἡ περίπτωση αὐτή τῆς ἀπελευθέρωσης τῶν Βυζαντινῶν αἰχμαλώτων διαφωτίζει ἕνα πρόβλημα πού ἀπασχόλησε τούς ἱστορικούς τῆς περιόδου αὐτῆς, συγκεκριμένα τήν περίφημη διαπίστωση ὅτι στίς ἀνταλλαγές αἰχμαλώτων τήν ἐποχή τῶν Ἀββασιδῶν οἱ Ἄραβες αἰχμάλωτοι ἦταν πάντα περισσότεροι ἀπό τούς Βυζαντινούς. Ὁ Toynbee ἀπέδωσε τό φαινόμενο αὐτό στό γεγονός ὅτι οἱ Ἄραβες ἦταν συνήθως οἱ ἐπιτιθέμενοι καί γι' αὐτό εἶχαν περισσότερες ἀπώλειες τόσο νεκρῶν ὅσο καί αἰχμαλώτων[10]. Πιστεύω ὅτι ἡ ἑρμηνεία αὐτή δέν εἶναι ἱκανοποιητική. Ὅπως φαίνεται ἀπό τήν περίπτωση τῶν αἰχμαλώτων πού συνελήφθησαν ἀπό τόν ʻAmr bn al-Aṣ, οἱ Ἄραβες ἀντιμετώπιζαν μεγάλες δυσκολίες στή συγκέντρωση τῶν Βυζαντινῶν αἰχμαλώτων πού εἶχαν ἤδη πουληθεῖ. Ἐπειδή κατά τήν ἐποχή τῶν Ἀββασιδῶν πολλοί Βυζαντινοί αἰχμάλωτοι ἐπωλοῦντο ἀμέσως καί ὁ χαλίφης δέν εἶχε δικαίωμα ἀνάκλησής τους παρά μόνο ἐξαγορᾶς τους, μέ δυσκολία συγκέντρωνε ἐπαρκῆ ἀριθμό Βυζαντινῶν αἰχμαλώτων πού θά τούς ἀντάλλαξε μέ τούς Ἄραβες αἰχμαλώτους[11].

Εἶναι ἀξιοσημείωτο ὅτι μόνο ὅταν οἱ ἀγοραστές χορηγοῦσαν εἰδικά ἐπίσημα πιστοποιητικά ἀπόλυσης μποροῦσαν οἱ αἰχμάλωτοι νά φύγουν. Τέτοια πιστοποιητικά πού ἀναφέρονται σέ αἰχμαλώτους ἀπό διάφορα μέρη διατηρήθηκαν στούς παπύρους καί ἔχω ἤδη ἀναλάβει τή συγκέντρωση καί δημοσίευσή τους. Παρουσιάζω ἐδῶ ἕνα κλασικό παράδειγμα ἀπόλυσης αἰχμαλώτου πού ἔγινε στήν Αἴγυπτο τό 959 μ.Χ.[12].

9. Khouri, σ. 20 κ.ἑ.
10. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World,* London 1973, 386.
11. Khouri, σ. 80.
12. A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library,* Cairo 1936, ἀρ. 137, σ. 197.

Μετάφραση: Στό ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ εὐσπλαχνικοῦ, τοῦ ἐλεήμονος... Ἡ ὥρα πού ὁ Abu Samḥ 'Uqba bn. Halīfa bn. Muḥammad... ἀπολύθηκε ἦταν ὅταν πέντε ὧρες ἀπέμεναν ἀπό τό Σάββατο, ὅταν δέκα τέσσερις [νύχτες] ἀπέμεναν ἀπό τόν τρέχοντα μῆνα Sa'ban τοῦ ἔτους 348... Ὑπογραφή ἀξιωματικοῦ κλπ.

Ἡ δεύτερη περίπτωση ἀναφέρεται στήν περίοδο τῆς κατάκτησης τῶν Συρο-Παλαιστινιακῶν παραλιακῶν πόλεων ἀπό τούς Ἄραβες (±635)[13]. Οἱ κάτοικοι τῶν περιοχῶν αὐτῶν, ὅπως τονίζεται σέ μία πρόσφατη ἐργασία, ἀντίθετα ἀπό τούς Αἰγύπτιους πού μόνο σποραδικά συνεργάστηκαν μέ τόν Βυζαντινό στρατό κατά τή διάρκεια τῆς εἰσβολῆς τῶν Ἀράβων, ἀντέταξαν ἰσχυρή ἀντίσταση ἐναντίον τῶν εἰσβολέων καί οἱ περισσότεροι προτίμησαν τελικά νά καταφύγουν στό Βυζάντιο παρά νά ὑποταχτοῦν[14].

Κατά τή διάρκεια τῶν γεγονότων αὐτῶν οἱ Ἄραβες, σύμφωνα μέ τόν Waqid, συνέλαβαν αἰχμάλωτο ἕνα Βυζαντινό πατρίκιο, τόν διοικητή μιᾶς πόλης, πού ἐνῶ εἶχε ἀντισταθεῖ γενναῖα ὅταν οἱ Ἄραβες πολιόρκησαν τήν πόλη του, μετά τήν αἰχμαλωσία του δέχτηκε, μέ ἀντάλλαγμα τήν ἐλευθερία του, νά συνεργαστεῖ μέ τούς Ἄραβες. Οἱ Ἄραβες ὄχι μόνο τόν ἀπελευθέρωσαν, ἀλλά μετά τόν ἐξισλαμισμό του τοῦ ἀνέθεσαν καθήκοντα ἀνώτερου ἀξιωματικοῦ τοῦ στρατοῦ τους.

Ἡ τρίτη περίπτωση ἀναφέρεται σέ μεταγενέστερη περίοδο, στήν ἀρχή τῆς δυναστείας τῶν Ἀββασιδῶν. Ὅπως μᾶς πληροφοροῦν οἱ ἀραβικές πηγές ὁ χαλίφης Abu Ja'far al-Manṣūr (754-775) δέχτηκε πρόταση ἐξαγορᾶς Βυζαντινῶν αἰχμαλώτων τούς ὁποίους ἀπελευθέρωσε μέ ἀμοιβή (fidā')[16].

Ἡ πρώτη περίπτωση παρουσιάζει τίς θεωρητικές καί πρακτικές δυσκολίες πού ἀντιμετώπιζαν οἱ Ἄραβες στό θέμα τῆς ἀνταλλαγῆς αἰχμαλώτων. Ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος τῶν ἀραβικῶν δυνάμεων τῆς Αἰγύπτου 'Amr bn. al-'Aṣ δέν τόλμησε νά πάρει μόνος του θέση στό πρόβλημα τῆς ἀπελευθέρωσης τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καί ἀναγκάσθηκε νά ζητήσει ὁδηγίες ἀπό τόν χαλίφη. Ἀργότερα οἱ Ἄραβες νομομαθεῖς διαπληκτίζονται συνεχῶς γιά τά διάφορα προβλήματα πού ἀναφέρονται στήν ἀνταλλαγή, ἀπελευθέρωση καί ἐξαγορά τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καί στό μόνο σημεῖο στό ὁποῖο συμφωνοῦν ἀπόλυτα εἶναι ὅτι πάντα τόν τελικό λόγο ἔχει ὁ χαλίφης.

Στή δεύτερη περίπτωση διαβλέπουμε μιά τάση πού ἐφαρμόζεται συχνά ἀργότερα τόσο ἀπό τούς Ἄραβες ὅσο καί ἀπό τούς Βυζαντινούς, δηλαδή

13. Γιά τή χρονολόγηση τῆς κατάκτησης τῶν πόλεων αὐτῶν βλ. Fred Mc Graw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquest,* Princeton 1981, 112 κ.έ.

14. V. Christides, "The Coastal Towns of Bilād al-Shām at the Time of the Rashidūn, 632-661 A.D.", Forth. International Congress on Bilād al-Shām, Amman Μάρτιος 1985). Ὁ καθηγητής μου κ. Β. Χρηστίδης εἶχε τήν καλωσύνη νά μοῦ στείλει τήν ἐργασία αὐτή πρίν τή δημοσίευσή της.

15. Wāqidī, *Futūḥ al-Shām,* ἔκδ. Καΐρου, 1955, σ. 17 κ.έ.

16. Abu Nu'aym al-Isfahanī, *Ḥilyat al-Awilyā',* Cairo 1936, 135-136. Γιά μιά παρόμοια ἐξαγορά αἰχμαλώτων στήν ἴδια περίπου ἐποχή, βλ. Ibn Abī Hātim al-Rāzī, *Taqdimāt,* Haydarābad 1952, 193-95.

τή στρατολόγηση αἰχμαλώτων πού ἀλλάζουν στρατόπεδο. Τέλος στήν τρίτη περίπτωση βλέπουμε πῶς ἀρχίζει νά ἐφαρμόζεται ἡ ἐξαγορά αἰχμαλώτων.

Τά τρία αὐτά παραδείγματα μᾶς δείχνουν πώς, πρίν ἀκόμη συστηματοποιηθεῖ ἡ ἀνταλλαγή, ἐξαγορά καί ἀπελευθέρωση Βυζαντινῶν καί Ἀράβων αἰχμαλώτων τόν 9ο αἰώνα, εἶχαν ἤδη προηγηθεῖ ἀρκετές ἐνέργειες πού προλείαναν τό ἔδαφος.

RASHAD KHOURI

Περί των «Νόμων» των Ομηριτών του Αγίου Γρηγεντίου

Κατά την δεύτερη δεκαετία του 6ου αιώνα, ο ιουδαίος στο θρήσκευμα βασιλεύς της χώρας των Ομηριτών (Himyar, σημ. Υεμένη) στην Ευδαίμονα Αραβία, (όπου προ Χριστού είχε ακμάσει το κράτος της βασίλισσας του Σαβά)[1], Δουναάς (Dhunuvās) άρχισε διωγμούς εναντίον των χριστιανών της επικρατείας του με σκοπό να τους εξαναγκάσει να ασπασθούν την εβραϊκή θρησκεία[2]. Κατά την περίοδο των διωγμών εμαρτύρησε ο άγιος Αρέθας (έτος 523)[3]. Ο βίαιος και μαζικός προσηλυτισμός των εντοπίων και ξένων κατοίκων της Himyar στον ιουδαϊσμό έθιγε τα συμφέροντα της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας στην περιοχή[4]. Λόγοι οικονομικοί και στρατηγικοί (από τα παράλια της Ευδαίμονας Αραβίας διέρχονταν οι δρόμοι του βυζαντινού εμπορίου προς τις Ινδίες)[5], καθώς και ιδεολογικοί (προσβολή κατά της χριστιανικής θρησκείας, και μάλιστα σε εποχή που ο τότε αυτοκράτορας Ιουστίνος Α'

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1. Για τη χώρα των Ομηριτών βλ. *Ph. Hitti,* History of the Arabs from the earliest Times to the Present, London 1951, 55-66· **H. v. Wissmann,* Ancient Himyar, "Le Muséon" 77 (1964) 429 κε· *Br. Doe,* Southern Arabia, London 1971, 22 κε.· *I. Shahîd,* Pre-Islamic Arabia, "The Cambridge History of Islam", 1A, ^{3}1979, 13 κε.

2. Βλ. *J. Spencer Trimingham,* Crhistianity among the Arabs in pre-islamic Times, London-New York χ.χρ., 300· *De Lacy O'Leary,* Arabia before Muhammad, London 1927, 141-149· *S. Smith,* Events in Arabia in the 6th Century A.D., "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London" 16 (1954) 431· *I. Shahîd,* Byzantium in South Arabia, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" 33 (1979) κε.

3. Martyrium S. Arethae et Sociorum, στα Acta Sanctorum, Oct. X, 721 κε.

4. Βλ. *I. Shahîd,* Byzantium ..., ό.π. 25 κε.

5. Βλ. *E.O. Winstedt,* The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes, Cambridge 1904, 334-335· *Nina Pigulevskaja,* Vizantija na putjach v Indiju. Iz istorii torgovli Vizantii s Vostokom v IV-VI v.v., Moskva-Leningrad 1951, 301, (γερμ. μτφρ.: Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien. Aus der Geschichte des byzantinischen Handels mit dem Orient vom 4. bis 6. Jahrhundert, Berlin-Amsterdam 1981)· *H. Magoulias,* The Lives of the Saints as Sources of Data for the History of Commerce in the Byzantine Empire in the VIth and VIIth Cent., "Κληρονομία" 3 (1971) 303 κε.· *G. Fiaccadori,* Teodoro Indiano, "Studi Classici e Orientali" 33 (1983) 295 κε.

είχε ασκήσει με επιτυχία πολιτική ευρείας διαδόσεως του χριστιανισμού στον Πόντο και τον Καύκασο)[6], επέβαλλαν την ανάσχεση της ιουδαϊκής εξαπλώσεως. Για την επίτευξη των σκοπών του ο Ιουστίνος Α' δεν είχε καμιά δυνατότητα να δράσει αλλιώς, παρά μόνο αν εξωθούσε τους Αιθίοπες του χριστιανικού βασιλείου της Αξώμης σε πόλεμο κατά του Δουναά. Ο αυτοκράτορας ζήτησε από τον μονοφυσίτη πατριάρχη Αλεξανδρείας Τιμόθεο[7] να ασκήσει πίεση στον βασιλέα (Negus) της Αξώμης Ελεσβαάν (Ella Asheba), γνωστότερο ως Cāleb[8], "...ὅπως στρατοπεδαρχήσας ἐξαλείψῃ πάντας τούς παρανόμους μετά τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν"[9], ενώ παράλληλα ο ίδιος σε επιστολή του προς τον Cāleb τόνιζε "...προτρεπόμεθα τοίνυν καί ἐνορκοῦμεν κατά τῆς ἁγίας καί ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος τήν σήν ἀδελφότητα, χεῖρα βοηθείας ἔχουσαν τήν τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων δύναμιν, ἐξελθεῖν, εἴτε πλοῇ, εἴτε πεζῇ, κατά τοῦ μυσαροῦ καί παρανόμου ἑβραίου. Εἰ γάρ τοῦτο ὀκνήσει ποιῆσαι ἡ σή ὁσιότης, οὐρανόθεν μέν ὀργίζεται αὐτῇ ὁ Θεός καί τῇ αὐτῆς πολιτείᾳ· ἡμεῖς δέ διά Κόπτου καί Βερονίκης τῶν λεγομένων Βλεμμύων καί Νοβάδων πλῆθος στρατευμάτων ἐκπέμψαντες, παρόδῳ χρησάμενα τά στρατόπεδα ἡμῶν διά τῆς γῆς σου, πᾶσαν συντρίψωσι, τόν δέ Ὁμηρίτην καί τήν χώραν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν εἰς τέλειον ἀφανισμόν καί ἀνάθεμα καταστήσωσιν"[10]. Επακολούθησε πόλεμος των Αιθιόπων, με την βοήθεια του βυζαντινού ναυτικού[11], κατά των Ομηριτών. Τελικά, περί το 525 ο Cāleb υπέταξε τον Himyar[12], εφόνευσε τον

6. Βλ. *A.A. Vasiliev,* Justin the first, Cambridge Mass. 1950, 250-252· *Κ. Αμάντου,* Ιστορία του Βυζαντινού Κράτους, τ. α', Αθήναι ²1953, 233-234.

7. Βλ. *J. Maspero,* Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie, Paris 1933, 74· *G. Fiaccadori,* Proterio, Asterio e Timoteo patriarchi, Note di storiografia Alessandrina, "Egitto e Vicino Oriente" 3 (1980) 299 κε.

8. Για τους διαφόρους τύπους του ονόματος του Ελεσβαάν βλ. *A.A. Vasiliev,* Justin ..., ό.π., 291.

9. Martyrium S. Arethae ..., ό.π., 743.

10. Martyrium S. Arethae ..., ό.π. Σχετικά με τα χωρία αυτά, βλ. *B. Hendrickx,* Official Documents written in Greek illustrating the ancient History of Nubia and Ethiopa (3rd Century B.C.–6th Century A.D.), Johannesburg 1984, 66-68. Πρβλ. τις ειδήσεις του "Βίου Γρηγεντίου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ὁμηριτῶν" (ἐκδ. *A. Vasiliev,* Žitie sv. Grigentija, episkopa Omiritskago, "Vizantijskij Vremennik" 14, 1909, 23-67): "...ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεύς Ἰουστῖνος γράφει μετά ἐμπύρου ἐπείξεως (=ἐμπίξεως) Ἐλεσβωάμ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ Αἰθιοπίας εἰς τό ἀγεῖραι τά στρατεύματα τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας καί συμβαλεῖν πόλεμον μετά τοῦ παρανόμου Ἑβραίου καί ἐκδικῆσαι τό τίμιον καί ἀθῷον αἷμα τῶν δικαίων τῶν ὑπέρ τῆς ἀμωμήτου πίστεως τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ γενναίως ὑπερηθληκότων..." *(A. Vasiliev,* Žitie..., ό.π., 60).

11. Κατά τον **Huart,* Histoire des Arabes, 53, όπως σημειώνει ο *J.B. Bury,* History of the Later Roman Empire, vol. II, London 1923, 323, σημ. 1· *I. Shahîd,* Byzantium..., ό.π., 25.

12. Βλ. *V. Christides,* The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius (ca. 530 A.D.), "Annales d'Ethiopie" 9 (1972) 115 κε., και βιβλιογραφία 141, σημ. 1.

Δουναά και κατέστησε βασιλέα της τον Ομηρίτη χριστιανό Εσιμιφαίο (Sumyafa Ashwa), τον οποίο υπό ανώμαλες συνθήκες διαδέχθηκε περί το 530 ο Άβραμος (Abraha)[13].

Ο Ελεσβαάν είχε ζητήσει από τον βυζαντινό αυτοκράτορα την αποστολή επισκόπου στην Himyar. Ο Ιουστίνος Α' απευθύνθηκε στο Πατριαρχείο Αλεξανδρείας, το οποίο απέστειλε στους Ομηρίτες τον ιεραπόστολο Γρηγέντιο[14]. Ο Γρηγέντιος ονομάσθηκε επίσκοπος της πόλεως Ζαφάρ (ή Ταφάρ), πρωτεύουσας της Himyar, και άρχισε το έργο της διαδόσεως του χριστιανισμού μεταξύ των ιουδαίων κατοίκων.

Τέσσαρα έργα, που αναφέρονται άμεσα στον Γρηγέντιο, έχουν διασωθεί. Είναι ο Βίος του[15], οι Νόμοι των Ομηριτών[16], η "Διάλεξις" (=διάλογος) με τον ιουδαίο Ερβάν[17] και το κατά αζύμων[18].

Οι Νόμοι των Ομηριτών απαρτίζονται από προοίμιο, εξήντα τέσσαρα κεφάλαια (που αποκλειστικά περιλαμβάνουν νομικές διατάξεις), και επιλεγόμενα. Ήδη από το προοίμιο, πληροφορούμαστε ότι ο Γρηγέντιος είχε δεχθεί να συζητήσει δημόσια με τον ραββίνο Ερβάν σχετικά με τις διαφορές μεταξύ των δύο θρησκειών και την ανωτερότητα του χριστιανισμού. Πριν από την συνάντηση αυτή είχε συντάξει τους Νόμους, τους οποίους παρέδωσε στον Άβραμο. Στα επιλεγόμενα βλέπουμε πως ο βασιλεύς παρέλαβε τους Νόμους με αγαλλίαση. Διέταξε να συνταχθούν αντίγραφά τους για να διανεμηθούν στους "γει-

13. Βλ. τη βιβλιογραφία της σημ. 2 και *J. Ryckmans,* L'institution monarchique en Arabie Méridionale avant l'Islam, Louvain 1951, 323· πρβλ. *I. Shahîd,* Byzantium..., ό.π., 34.

14. "...Ἐπισκόπου τε ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖσε μή ὄντος οὔτε ἱερέως οὔτε διακόνου, ἀλλ' οὔτε ἑτέρου τινός τῶν ἀπό τοῦ κλήρου τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας· ἅπαντα γάρ σχεδόν ἦν ἀπαλείψας ὁ τῆς ἁγίας καί ὁμοουσίου Τριάδος ἐχθρός, ὥστε μήτε μνημόσυνον ἐν βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀπό τῶν τοιούτων εὑρίσκεσθαι· ... γράφει τοιγαροῦν ἀπό τοῦ Ὁμηρίτου Ἐλεσβοάμ, ὁ ἁγιώτατος βασιλεύς ... τῷ Πάπᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας ... γράφει τε μετέπειτα καί τοῦ ἐπιλέξασθαι αὐτόν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ περί αὐτόν πατριαρχίᾳ ἄνδρα τινά σοφόν, λόγιον καί συνετόν καί ἐπιστήμονα, ἀκριβῶς ἠσκημένον τήν τε παλαιάν καί τήν νέαν διαθήκην καί χειροτονίσαι ἐπίσκοπον καί ἀποστεῖλαι αὐτῷ μετά καί τῆς αὐτοῦ ἁπάσης χρείας τε καί ἀκολουθίας ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ...", βλ. *A. Vasiliev,* Žitie ..., ό.π., 61· *G. Graf,* Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, Città del Vaticano, 1944, 370· *I. Engelhardt,* Mission und Politik in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyze byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians, München 1974, 171-173· *G. Fiaccadori,* Proterio ... ό.π., 299 κε.

15. Βλ. *A. Vasiliev,* Žitie ..., ό.π., 39-66· *Fr. Halkin,* Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca, t. I, Bruxelles 1957, 228.

16. Η έκδοσή τους έγινε από τον **Boissonade,* Anecdota Graeca, t. V, Paris 1833, 63-116, και ανατυπώθηκε στον *Migne,* Patrologia Graeca, t. 86 (1), col. 568-620· πρβλ. *Fr. Halkin, ό.π.,* 229.

17. Βλ. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 621-783.

18. Την ανεύρεση του έργου αυτού οφείλουμε στον *V. Christides,* ό.π., 115 και 141, σημ. 5.

τονιάρχες", τους επικεφαλής δηλαδή των οικισμών κρατικούς λειτουργούς. Ανέγνωσε ο ίδιος τους Νόμους "ενώπιον πάντων", τους έθεσε επάνω στο άγιο θυσιαστήριο και προσευχήθηκε ώστε να διαμοιράσει ο Θεός τα αντίγραφα στους γειτονιάρχες, θαύμα το οποίο και έγινε. Αμέσως μετά θα ακολουθούσε ο διάλογος του Γρηγεντίου με τον ραββίνο, το περιεχόμενο του οποίου περιλαμβάνεται στο κείμενο της "Διαλέξεως". Αλλά η θεοπνευστία των Νόμων ήταν ήδη δεδομένη.

Οι Νόμοι των Ομηριτών, όπως γενικότερα τα κείμενα του corpus gregentianum, έχουν προκαλέσει, -και συνεχίζουν να προκαλούν-, πολλά ερωτήματα, με λίγες όμως απαντήσεις. Ονομαζόταν Γρηγέντιος ο βυζαντινός ιεραπόστολος; Πού, πότε και από ποιόν συνετέθησαν οι Νόμοι; Ακόμη, έχει τεθεί το ζήτημα αν συνετάγησαν ποτέ Νόμοι για τους Ομηρίτες. Και αν όντως συνετέθησαν, ποιος ήταν ο λόγος της συντάξεώς τους και ποιές οι πηγές τους; Επίσης, ίσχυσαν ποτέ αυτοί οι Νόμοι στην Himyar, και αν ναι σε ποιά έκταση εφαρμόστηκαν και μέχρι πότε;[19] Η παρούσα εισήγηση περιορίζεται να προβληματισθεί με μερικά από τα ζητήματα αυτά.

Τα εξήντα τέσσαρα κεφάλαια των Νόμων περιέχουν διατάξεις αστικού, διοικητικού και, κυρίως, ποινικού δικαίου. Αδιάφορα, όμως, από τον κλάδο που ανήκουν, ελάχιστες είναι εκείνες οι διατάξεις που δεν προβλέπουν επιβολή ποινής στους παραβάτες τους. Αν εξαιρέσουμε τα κεφάλαια τα σχετικά με την μίσθωση ακινήτων (κεφ. 57-58) και την αναγκαστική από την κρατική εξουσία διαχείριση των καταπιστευμάτων (κεφ. 42), οι λοιπές διατάξεις αστικού δικαίου αφορούν το οικογενειακό δίκαιο (μνηστεία, κεφ. 13· γάμος, κεφ. 10, 11, 59, 60· προίκιση αρρένων και θηλέων, γόνων πλουσίων οικογενειών, κεφ. 10· σχέσεις μεταξύ των συζύγων, κεφ. 24· κυρίαρχη θέση του άνδρα στην οικογένεια και, γενικότερα, την κοινωνία, κεφ. 48). Διοικητικού περιεχομένου είναι λίγες διατάξεις, όπως εκείνες για την εποπτεία εφαρμογής των Νόμων από τα κρατικά όργανα και ολόκληρο τον λαό (κεφ. 1, 18), τα αγορανομικά ζητήματα (κεφ. 1, 2, 30, 62), και την καθιέρωση της κυριακής αργίας (κεφ. 27, 28, 29, 51, 63), τεμνόμενα και τα δύο τελευταία σύνολα με το ποινικό δίκαιο των Νόμων, που προβλέπει τα αδικήματα της ανθρωποκτονίας (κεφ. 2), βιαιοπραγίας εκ μέρους κρατικών οργάνων (κεφ. 22), σωματικών κακώσεων (κεφ. 23), αυτοδικίας (κεφ. 23), κακομεταχειρίσεως δούλων (κεφ. 51, 53, 54) και ζώων (κεφ. 26, 33), μοιχείας (κεφ. 2, 7, 8, 9, 16, 21, 24, 50), πορνείας (κεφ. 6, 7, 8, 12, 21, 24, 40),

19. Βλ. *Évelyn Patlagean*, Les Moines grecs d'Italie et l'apologie des thèses pontificales (VIIIe-IXe siècles), "Studi Medievali" s. terza, 5 (1964) 579 κε.

αιμομειξίας (κεφ. 2), κτηνοβασίας (κεφ. 2), σοδομισμού (κεφ. 3, 21, 40), προαγωγείας (κεφ. 16), διευκολύνσεως αλλοτρίας ακολασίας (κεφ. 17), βιασμού (κεφ. 19), ακολάστων πράξεων (κεφ. 20), μαγείας (κεφ. 4, 21), κλοπής (κεφ. 5, 40), κλεπταποδοχής (κεφ. 5), παρακρατήσεως μισθού (κεφ. 52), επαιτείας (κεφ. 55, 56), ψευδομαρτυρίας (κεφ. 4), παραλείψεως καταγγελίας τελέσεως αδικήματος (κεφ. 15), μέθης (κεφ. 25), αγορανομικών γενικά παραβάσεων (κεφ. 27, 30, 31), φιλονικείας (κεφ. 32), χρήσεως προσωπίδων (κεφ. 34), ασκήσεως του επαγγέλματος ηθοποιού, χορευτή, κιθαριστή (κεφ. 35, 36), διεξαγωγής τυχηρών παιγνίων (κεφ. 37), εξυβρίσεως (κεφ. 39, 48), παραβιάσεως ασύλου (κεφ. 43), συκοφαντίας τεχνίτη (κεφ. 44), δωροδοκίας υπαλλήλων (κεφ. 45), μη εφαρμογής του Νόμου από τους γειτονιάρχες (κεφ. 61), μη τηρήσεως της κυριακής γενικά αργίας (κεφ. 27, 28, 29, 40, 51, 63), και αποχής από τις εκκλησιαστικές ακολουθίες (κεφ. 64).

Οι παραβάτες υπέκειντο σε έκτιση αυστηρών ποινών. Ενδεικτικά, προβλεπόταν θάνατος για τους σοδομιστές (κεφ. 3)· θάνατος στην πυρά για τους μάγους (κεφ. 4)· εκατό μαστιγώσεις, αποκοπή του αριστερού αφτιού και διαπόμπευση στον πόρνο (κεφ. 6)· αποκοπή των γεννητικών οργάνων στον πορνεύοντα έγγαμο (κεφ. 8) και του αριστερού μαστού στην μοιχευομένη γυναίκα (κεφ. 7)· διακόσιες μαστιγώσεις, διαπόμπευση και αποκοπή του αριστερού αφτιού για τον άνδρα που πόρνευε με την συναίνεση της συζύγου του (κεφ. 8)· αποκοπή της γλώσσας στον ψευδομάρτυρα (κεφ. 4)· πενήντα ραβδισμοί και αποτύπωση σημαδιού στο μέτωπο με πυρακτωμένο σίδερο στον κλέπτη (κεφ. 5)· το σημάδι αυτό επείχε την θέση ποινικού μητρώου για την περίπτωση υποτροπής, οπότε επιβαλλόταν αποκοπή των τενόντων του αριστερού ποδιού (κεφ. 5)· εβδομήντα δύο ραβδισμοί σε όσους παρέλειπαν να αναφέρουν την τέλεση αδικήματος στην δημοσία αρχή (κεφ. 15)· αποκοπή της γλώσσας στους προαγωγούς (κεφ. 16)· κατάσχεση της περιουσίας τους και εξορία σε όσους διευκόλυναν αλλοτρία ακολασία (κεφ. 17)· με εξορία, επίσης, τιμωρούνταν και η γυναίκα που μοιχευόταν τρίτη φορά (κεφ. 9)· εβδομήντα μαστιγώσεις και διαπόμπευση στους εφαψίες, καθώς και αποκοπή του χεριού σε υποτροπή (κεφ. 20)· εκατό ραβδισμοί και αποκοπή των αφτιών στους βιαστές (κεφ. 19)· τριάντα έξι μαστιγώσεις και αποκοπή ενός δακτύλου του ποδιού στα κρατικά όργανα που βιαιοπραγούσαν (κεφ. 22)· τριάντα έξι ραβδισμοί σε όσους φόρτωναν τα ζώα περισσότερο από το καθοριζόμενο στους Νόμους φορτίο (κεφ. 26)· κατάσχεση της κινητής περιουσίας στους πωλητές που παρέβαιναν την κυριακή αργία (κεφ. 27, 28)· διακόσιες μαστιγώσεις, κάψιμο μαλλιών και γενειάδας, διαπόμπευση

και αναγκαστική εργασία επί ένα χρόνο στο βασιλικό εργαστήριο σε όσους φορούσαν προσωπίδες (κεφ. 34)· οι ηθοποιοί, χορευτές, κροταλιστές και όσοι έπαιζαν ζάρια καψαλίζονταν, διαπομπεύονταν και υποβάλλονταν σε αναγκαστική εργασία επί ένα χρόνο στο ίδιο εργαστήριο (κεφ. 36, 37)· όσοι αποσπούσαν από το άσυλο του ναού ελεύθερο άνθρωπο πωλούνταν ως δούλοι (κεφ. 43)· οι εργοδότες που παρακρατούσαν το μισθό υπαλλήλου τους, υποχρεώνονταν στην καταβολή διπλασίου ποσού (κεφ. 52)· σέ κάθε παραβάτη των Νόμων επιβαλλόταν πρόστιμο (κεφ. 14), το ύψος του οποίου οριζόταν στο κεφ. 13, που το προέβλεπε επίσης για κάθε γονέα που δεν είχε μνηστεύσει το ηλικίας 10 έως 12 ετών παιδί του· κατάσχεση περιουσίας προβλεπόταν για όσους δεν μετείχαν με όλη τους την οικογένεια στις εκκλησιαστικές ακολουθίες (κεφ. 64).

Οι ποινικές διατάξεις των Νόμων ανήκουν αποκλειστικά στο ειδικό ουσιαστικό ποινικό δίκαιο. Οι προβλεπόμενες ποινές ενεργούσαν ως ανταπόδοση, όχι όμως άμετρη, καθώς το νέο χριστιανικό καθεστώς επεδίωκε την πλήρη επικράτησή του στη χώρα της Χιμιάρ. Οπωσδήποτε, οι επαπειλούμενες ποινές ήταν αυστηρές, σε σύγκριση με τις κατά αδίκημα αντίστοιχές τους των δικαιικών συστημάτων που ίσχυαν στην Αυτοκρατορία και τις ηγεμονίες εκείνες που είχαν προκύψει από την κατάλυση του Δυτικού Ρωμαϊκού Κράτους[20]. Επιπλέον, οι Νόμοι θέσπιζαν εκτεταμένη σωρευτική επιβολή ποινών, όπως π.χ. στο κεφ. 34: διακόσιες μαστιγώσεις και κάψιμο των μαλλιών και κάψιμο της γενειάδας και διαπόμπευση και καταναγκαστικά έργα. Ο J.B. Bury έχει παρατηρήσει ότι οι Νόμοι των Ομηριτών εικονίζουν το είδος της νομοθεσίας εκείνης, την οποία θα οραματιζόταν ένας αυθαίρετος εκκλησιαστικός ταγός[21]. Είναι εμφανές από τις διατάξεις τους, ότι ο συντάκτης τους απέβλεπε σε μία κοινωνία απόλυτα ελεγχομένη. Παράλληλα, στους Νόμους απαντούν διατάξεις που απηχούσαν αντιλήψεις "φιλάνθρωπες", όπως θα τις αποκαλούσαν οι Βυζαντινοί. Τέτοιες είναι η κακή μεταχείριση των δούλων (κεφ. 51, 53, 54) και των ζώων (κεφ. 26, 33), το ενοικιοστάσιο (κεφ. 57), η υποχρέωση των πλουσίων γονέων να συναινούν στο γάμο του παιδιού τους με φτωχό και να το προικίζουν (κεφ. 10)[22], αντιλήψεις που σε συνδυασμό με τις πληροφορίες των

20. Για τη συγκριτική έρευνα των διαφόρων εξελικτικών φάσεων που γνώρισε το βυζαντινό ποινικό δίκαιο, βλ. *Σπ. Τρωϊάνου,* Ο "Ποινάλιος" του Εκλογαδίου, Frankfurt am Main (1980).

21. *J.B. Bury,* History ..., ό.π., 413.

22. "Ἐάν ἐρασθῇ πλουσίου υἱός πενιχρᾶς κόρης, οἱ δέ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ οὐ βούλωνται, διά τό μή οἰκτειρηθῆναι πενιχράν καί ἀτιμωθῆναι, ὁ νόμος ἁρμοζέτω αὐτούς, παρεχόντων τῶν γονέων σώαν τήν προῖκα τῷ υἱῷ αὐτῶν, καθότι κέλευσις βασιλική παρακελεύεται. Τό αὐτό καί ἐπί κόρης πλουσίας, εἴπερ ἐρασθῇ ἐπί νεωτέρῳ πενιχρῷ", *Migne,* ό.π., col. 585.

προλεγομένων των Νόμων για την ίδρυση από τον βασιλέα γηροκομείων, ξενώνων, νοσοκομείων και πτωχοτροφείων[23], αναδείκνυαν τον αυταρχικό ηγεμόνα της Χιμιάρ προνοητικό πατέρα των υπηκόων του, κατά τα βυζαντινά πρότυπα της εποχής.

Αξία προσοχής είναι, επίσης, η έλλειψη ποινής για την ανθρωποκτονία· το σχετικό κεφ. 2 περιορίζεται στην εντολή να παραδίδεται ο δράστης "τῷ πραιτωρίῳ"[24]. Λείπουν, ακόμη, διατάξεις για διάφορα αδικήματα κοινά σε όλες τις προγενέστερες του 6ου αιώνα νομοθεσίες, (όπως ήταν η καθοσίωση, η κατασκοπεία, η αυτομολία, η τυμβωρυχία). Παρόμοιο κενό υπάρχει ως προς το Κανονικό δίκαιο. Η μοναδική μνεία Ι. Κανόνα απαντά στο κεφ. 49, που απαγορεύει τη σύναψη τρίτου γάμου ("...οἱ γάρ θεῖοι κανόνες τρίτῳ ἀνδρί ζευχθῆναι οὐκ ἀνέχονται. Τῷ αὐτῷ καί ἐπί ἀνδρῶν χηρευσάντων γινέσθω"[25]), και μάλιστα με διατύπωση που δείχνει πως οι εκκλησιαστικοί Κανόνες δεν ήταν άγνωστοι. Τα κενά αυτά με οδηγούν στη σκέψη πως το δίκαιο που ίσχυε στην Himyar πριν από την εποχή του Δουναά, και του οποίου η εφαρμογή θα είχε διασαλευθεί από τον ιουδαϊκό επεκτατισμό, συνέχιζε την ισχύ του, ενώ παράλληλα οι Νόμοι των Ομηριτών έρχονταν να το συμπληρώσουν και σε αρκετές διατάξεις του να το τροποποιήσουν.

Το περιεχόμενο των Νόμων αναφέρεται σε θεσμούς και αδικήματα που απαντούν σε όλες τις προγενέστερες νομοθεσίες, από τη βαβυλωνιακή του Χαμμουραμπί μέχρι και την ιουστινιάνεια κωδικοποίηση, που η σύνταξή της άρχισε μετά το 530. Αυτοί καθ' εαυτοί οι θεσμοί του ιδιωτικού δικαίου και τα αδικήματα των ποινικών διατάξεων των Νόμων, δεν μας επιτρέπουν να τους ταυτίσουμε με άλλα νομοθετήματα ή να ανακαλύψουμε τις τυχόν πηγές τους. Ο A. D'Emilia υποστήριξε σχετικά ότι οι Νόμοι των Ομηριτών απηχούν – εκτός άλλων – διατάξεις της ιουστινιάνειας, καθώς και της μεταγενέστερης βυζαντινής νομοθεσίας. Ως χαρακτηριστικά δείγματα αναφέρει: α) την προίκιση των θηλέων και την προγαμιαία δωρεά των αρρένων. Αλλά το κεφ. 10 των Νόμων αναφέρεται ευθέως στην υποχρέωση των πλουσίων γονέων να συναινούν στον γάμο του παιδιού τους με τον φτωχό, που τον έχει ερωτευθεί, και να το προικίζουν, αδιάφορα αν είναι κορίτσι ή αγόρι. Οι Νόμοι εδώ απηχούν τις αντιλήψεις του διαδεδομένου στον χώρο της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου εθίμου για την προίκιση και των αρρένων τέ-

23. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 580.

24. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 584· παρβλ. *A. Grohmann,* Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients, III/4, Arabien, München 1963, 132, σημ. 3.

25. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 608. Κανών 50 Μεγ. Βασιλείου· πρβλ. Καν. 3 της Συνόδου Νεοκαισαρείας.

κνων από τους γονείς τους, και β) την περιέλευση σε κατάσταση δουλείας του ελευθέρου ανθρώπου που παντρεύεται δούλο (κεφ. 11), διάταξη που απαντά στη Νεαρά 100 του αυτοκράτορα Λέοντα του Σοφού, παρατήρησε ο D'Emilia, καταλήγοντας στο συμπέρασμα ότι η σύνταξη των Νόμων ανάγεται στη μεταϊουστινιάνεια εποχή, πιθανώς κατά τον 10ο ή 11ο αιώνα[26]. Και εδώ δεν μπορώ να συμφωνήσω, διότι το κεφ. 11 βαίνει επί των διατάξεων του ρωμαϊκού δικαίου[27], ενώ η Νεαρά 100 του Λέοντα του Σοφού επιβάλλει διαζευκτικά στον ελεύθερο ή να γίνει δούλος ή να εξαγοράσει από τον κύριο την ελευθερία του δούλου με τον οποίο έρχεται σε γάμο[28].

Είναι βέβαιο, νομίζω, πως κατά τη διατύπωση των επιμέρους διατάξεων των Νόμων, ο συντάκτης τους είχε υπόψη του αρκετές νομοθετικές πηγές. Η ποινή του θανάτου για τους σομοδιστές (κεφ. 3) επιβάλλεται από την Π. Διαθήκη (Λευιτικό 18, 22· 20, 13, και Δευτερονόμιο 23, 17), από διάταγμα του Μ. Κωνσταντίνου (Θεοδοσιανός Κώδικας 9, 7, 3), όπως αργότερα και από την ιουστινιάνεια κωδικοποίηση (Cod. 9, 9, 30· Νεαρά 77 και 141). Ο Θεοδοσιανός Κώδικας (9, 16) προβλέπει την ίδια ποινή για τους μάγους, όπως και το κεφ. 4 των Νόμων των Ομηριτών[29]. Η συμπόρευση όμως αυτή απαντά σε λίγα κεφάλαια, ενώ το διατακτικό των περισσοτέρων τους αναδεικνύει, νομίζω, το σύνολο των Νόμων νομοθέτημα νέο, πρωτότυπο και υποδειγματικό για την επίτευξη των σκοπών της βυζαντινής ιεραποστολής στην Himyar κατά το δεύτερο τέταρτο του 6ου αιώνα.

Η Nina Pigulevskaja έχει υποστηρίξει ότι οι Νόμοι είναι ψευδεπίγραφοι, συντάχθηκαν στη Συρία και συνιστούν φιλολογικό κείμενο, χαρακτηριστικό της αστικής ζωής στο Βυζάντιο του 6ου αιώνα[30]. Διστάζω να προσχωρήσω στην άποψη αυτή. Από τις διατάξεις τους φαίνεται

26. Βλ. *Ant. d'Emilia,* Intorno οἱ Νόμοι τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν, "Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Diritto Romano e di Storia del Diritto, Verona 1948", vol. I, Milano (1951) 194 και 196.

27. Βλ. *Pauli,* Receptae Sententiae 2, 19, 6: "inter servos et liberos matrimonium contrahi non potest", διάταξη που υιοθετήθηκε από την ιουστινιάνεια κωδικοποίηση Cod 5, 5, 3, πρβλ. Cod. 5, 18, 3 και Dig. 24, 3, 22.

28. Βλ. *C.E. Zachariae a Lingenthal,* Jus Graeco-Romanum, pars III, Lipsiae 1857, 199-200· *Γ. Μαριδάκη,* Το αστικόν δίκαιον εν ταις Νεαραίς των βυζαντινών αυτοκρατόρων, Αθήνα 1922, 71-73.

29. Ο *A.K. Irvine,* Homicide in Pre-Islamic Arabia, "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London" 30 (1967) 291, παρατηρεί ότι αρκετές από τις ποινές των Νόμων είναι τυπικά αραβικές. Τη μελέτη του *R. Dareste,* Lois des Homérites, "Nouvelle Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger" 29 (1905) 157-170, δεν κατόρθωσα να συμβουλευθώ.

30. Βλ. *Nina Pigulevskaja,* Zakoni Chim]jaritov, "Vizantijskij Vremennik", νέα σειρά, 3 (1950) 51-61· *της ιδίας,* Vizantija..., ό.π., 242-259, (γερμ. μτφρ., ό.π., 197-210).

πως ο συντάκτης τους γνώριζε καλά τις τοπικές συνθήκες και τις ανάγκες της Himyar. Ενδεικτικά επισημαίνεται η πολιτειακή και κοινοτική οργάνωση με τους υπάρχους και τους γειτονιάρχες, η ύπαρξη και ποικίλες αρμοδιότητες των οποίων είναι δεδομένες στους Νόμους (κεφ. 3, 15, 17, 22, 24, 27, 58, 61, 62, 64). Η μνεία (κεφ. 43) της περιοχής όπου ήταν το σκλαβοπάζαρο, γνωστής με το τοπωνύμιο "Τρικανός τόπος". Η διάταξη του κεφ. 57, που αφού αναφέρει ότι τα ενοίκια είχαν υπέρμετρα αυξηθεί "ἀπό τῶν πρόπαλαι χαλεπῶς κεκρατηκότων τά τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν πράγματα", στη συνέχεια επιβάλλει μείωση των μισθωμάτων, καθώς και ενοικιοστάσιο. Επίσης, το κεφ. 29 αφορά στην καθιέρωση της αργίας της Κυριακής, των δεσποτικών και των "μεγάλων" εορτών, και επιπλέον μνημονεύει την εορτή της Θεοτόκου, των Αγίων Αποστόλων και "τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων". Η συγκεκριμένη αναφορά των δύο πρώτων ήταν προφανώς περιττή, δεδομένου ότι οι εορτές αυτές είναι εξ ορισμού "μεγάλες". Γνωρίζουμε όμως από τον Βίο ότι ο νεγκούς Caleb είχε ανεγείρει στην πρωτεύουσα Ζαφάρ (όπου ο επισκοπικός θρόνος του Γρηγεντίου) τους ναούς της Αγίας Τριάδας, της Θεοτόκου και των Αγίων Αποστόλων[31]. Δεδομένου ότι ο εορτασμός της Αγίας Τριάδας ανήκει στις δεσποτικές, ο συντάκτης των Νόμων την αργία κατά τις εορτές της Θεοτόκου και των Αγίων Αποστόλων ad hoc τονίζει, ώστε να μην υπάρχει καμιά αμφιβολία ότι οι πανηγύρεις αυτών των ναών της Ζαφάρ ανήκουν στις μεγάλες εορτές. Υπέρ των απόψεων της Pigulevskaja θα συνηγορούσε η μη διάσωση του κειμένου των Νόμων στην αραβική γλώσσα. Θα μπορούσε όμως εδώ να αντιταχθεί πως λίγες δεκαετίες αργότερα, περί το 572, η Himyar κατακτήθηκε από τους Πέρσες, ενώ αργότερα επικράτησε εκεί ο ισλαμισμός, και έτσι η επιβίωση – ακόμα και η ανάμνηση – των Νόμων κατέστη αδύνατη. Και εδώ πρέπει να προστεθεί πως το προοίμιο και τα επιλεγόμενα του κειμένου έχουν γραφεί σε μορφή διηγήσεως, ωσάν να τα έγραψε τρίτο πρόσωπο, και μόνο τα κεφάλαια της νομοθεσίας παρατίθενται αυτούσια και σε αυστηρό νομικό λόγο.

Από τα περιεχόμενα των Νόμων γίνεται εμφανές ότι ο συντάκτης τους απέβλεπε καταρχήν στην ολοκληρωτική επιβολή του χριστιανισμού, – θρησκεύματος που το επρέσβευε ο βασιλεύς της συγκεκριμένης επικρατείας –, εξοβελίζοντας κάθε δυνατότητα επιβιώσεως άλλης θρησκείας, καθώς και στην ενίσχυση της "ἐκ Θεοῦ" (κεφ. 13) κεντρικής βασιλικής εξουσίας σε σχέση προς τους τοπικούς φυλάρχους. Πουθενά στους Νόμους δεν τονίζεται ότι ο χριστιανισμός ήταν πλέον

31. Βλ. *A. Vasiliev,* Žitie ..., ό.π., 63· *I. Shahîd,* Byzantium..., ό.π., 38-51.

η μοναδική θρησκεία. Σ' αυτήν, όμως, και σε επιμέρους λατρευτικές εκδηλώσεις της άμεσα αναφέρονται αρκετές διατάξεις αναγκαστικού και κοινού για όλο τον πληθυσμό δικαίου (όπως κεφ. 17, 28, 38, 39, 43, 49, 51, 53, 55, 60, 63, 64). Παράλληλα, η μόνη μνεία ιουδαίων γίνεται στο σχετικό με την κυριακή αργία κεφ. 28, που απλώς αναφέρει "...καί οὕτω ῥαπιζόμενος ἐπιδιωκέσθω καθότι Χριστιανός ὤν ὁ τοιοῦτος (=ο χριστιανός που δεν τηρεί την αργία) οὔτε κἄν ἴσα τῷ Ἰουδαίῳ ἐτίμασε (=καταφρόνησε) τήν ἑορτήν αὐτῷ". Η νέα έννομη τάξη, όπως αυτή κατοπτρίζεται στους Νόμους, επιβάλλει μονολιθικά τον χριστιανισμό, μη επιτρέποντας τη συνύπαρξη άλλων θρησκευμάτων. Είναι χαρακτηριστική, στο θέμα αυτό, η πληροφορία των επιλεγομένων της "Διαλέξεως" ότι, μετά την προσέλευση στον χριστιανισμό του ραββίνου Ερβάν και 505.000 περίπου ιουδαίων "...κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως καί τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου βαπτίζεται πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἡ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ βασιλείας κατοικοῦσα"[32], θεσπίστηκε νέος συμπληρωματικός νόμος, σύμφωνα με τον οποίο απαγορεύθηκε επί ποινή θανάτου στους εξ ιουδαίων νεοφώτιστους χριστιανούς να συνάψουν γάμο με πρόσωπα της ιδίας θρησκευτικής προελεύσεως, παρά μόνο με "ἐξ ἐθνῶν" χριστιανούς. Έτσι, "...φυρθεῖσα τῷ χρόνῳ, εἰς παντελῆ λήθην ἦλθε τῶν προτέρων"[33] η ιουδαϊκή θρησκεία.

Κατά τους Νόμους, αρμοδία αρχή για την εποπτεία της απαρέγκλιτης εφαρμογής των διατάξεών τους και τιμωρός των παραβατών τους ήταν η βασιλική εξουσία. Ο βασιλεύς ήταν, επίσης, ο μόνος νομοθέτης στη χώρα και προστάτης, ακόμη, της Εκκλησίας. Μολονότι στους Νόμους δεν απαντά διάταξη σχετική, το σύστημα των σχέσεων μεταξύ της πολιτείας και της Εκκλησίας εβάρυνε υπέρ της δευτέρας. Είναι ενδεικτική η μία και μοναδική διάταξη που θεσπίζεται υπέρ της θρησκευτικής αρχής, διάταξη εξαιρετικά αποτελεσματική (κεφ. 47). Στις σπουδαίες υποθέσεις ο βασιλεύς ήταν υποχρεωμένος να συμβουλεύεται τους εκκλησιαστικούς λειτουργούς, οι οποίοι και συνιστούσαν το μέσο επικοινωνίας του με τον Θεό· (""Ότι δεῖ τόν βασιλέα ἐπί μεγάλων πραγμάτων βουλεύεσθαι ἀνδράσιν ἁγίοις, καί δι' αὐτῶν ἐπερωτᾶν τόν Θεόν τόν ἅγιον, καί οὕτω τά ἐκείνῳ δόξαντα διαπράττεσθαι ἄμεινον. Ὁ γάρ οὕτω ποιῶν εἰς τόν αἰῶνα οὐ καταισχυνθήσεται")[34]. Πολύτιμες πληροφορίες για τη θέση της Εκκλησίας διασώζει η "Διάλεξις". Μετά την προσχώρηση των ιουδαίων στον χριστιανισμό "...κελεύσει τοῦ βασιλέως καί τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου βαπτίζεται πᾶσα ἡ συναγωγή τῶν Ἰουδαίων ... καί εὐθύς ὑποθέσει τοῦ ἁγιωτάτου ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ὁ εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεύς, διεσκόρπισεν τάς πατριάς αὐτῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ... ἐνετείλατο δέ ὁ μακαριώτατος Γρηγέντιος τῷ βασιλεῖ γραφῆναι νόμον (=τον σχετικό με τον γάμο των νεοφωτίστων) ... φωτισθείσης πάσης τῆς βασιλείας τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν, καί εὐσεβῶς χριστιανιζούσης ... τά δέ βουλεύματα αὐτοῦ (=του βασιλέα), τά τε περί εἰρήνης καί πολέμου, καί ἑτέρας ἡστινοσοῦν ὑποθέσεως, πρῶτον ἐπερωτῶν διά τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγεντίου τόν Κύριον, τά ἐντελλόμενα αὐτῷ προθύμως ἐπλήρει, καί οὐδέποτε ἠστόχει τοῦ πρέποντος, ὡς θεοκελεύστοις τούτοις ἐπιχειρῶν ... παρείληφε δέ Σέρδιδος ὁ υἱός αὐτοῦ τά σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας (=όταν πέθανε ο Άβραμος), καί ἦν κατά πάντα ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ, τῷ μακαρίῳ Γρηγεντίῳ ἑπόμενος..."[35].

Έτσι η εκκλησιαστική εξουσία απέβη ανώτερη της κρατικής. Στους Νόμους, καθώς και στα άλλα κείμενα του corpus gregentianum, δεν απαντούν απηχήσεις της ανεξιθρησκείας της εποχής του Μ. Κωνσταντίνου και των διαδόχων του. Όχι μόνο ο ιδιωτικός και δημόσιος βίος των Ομηριτών εξηρτάτο από την Εκκλησία μέσω της τοπικής βασιλικής εξουσίας, αλλά και αυτή η ίδια, τουλάχιστον "ἐπί μεγάλων πραγμάτων", κατέστη υποχείρια της εκκλησιαστικής αρχής, η οποία απέβη, ευσχημόνως με τη διάταξη του κεφ. 47 των Νόμων, de iure υπερπολιτειακός ρυθμιστής των τυχών της Himyar. Ευφυή ως προς την εξυπηρέτηση των απωτέρων πολιτικών σκοπών της βυζαντινής ιεραποστολής και καλυμμένα με ιεροπρεπή πατερναλισμό τόσο το κεφ. 47 όσο και τα σχετικά χωρία της "Διαλέξεως", δείχνουν την απομάκρυνση της χώρας των Ομηριτών από τα κρατούντα στο Βυζάντιο σε ό,τι επίσημα αφορούσε τις σχέσεις της κοσμικής και θρησκευτικής εξουσίας[36]. Τον ιδιωτικό και δημόσιο βίο στην Himyar ελέγχει ο βασιλεύς, και τον βασιλέα εξουσιάζει ο επίσκοπος. Αλλά η διαμόρφωση αυτής της καταστάσεως, νομίζω, πως αποτελούσε τον στόχο της πολιτικής του Βυζαντίου στην τόσο αναγκαία για την εξασφάλιση των ζωτικών στρατιωτικών και οικονομικών συμφερόντων του Ευδαίμονα Αραβία. Ο Γρηγέντιος ήταν ένθερμος ιεραπόστολος· συγχρόνως πιστός εκφραστής των αυτοκρατορικών επιδιώξεων, καθώς ο ίδιος διαμόρφωνε την "ἐπί μεγάλων πραγμάτων" πολιτική του Ομηρίτη βασιλέα. Είναι χαρακτηριστικό πως στο κείμενο των Νόμων δεν απαντούν στοιχεία ούτε για το αν ο Γρηγέντιος ήταν μονοφυσίτης, ούτε και γενικότερα α-

32. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 781.
33. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 781.
34. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 605.

35. *Migne,* ό.π., col. 781-784.
36. Από την πλούσια σχετική βιβλιογραφία βλ. την πρόσφατη μελέτη της *Αικατερίνης Χριστοφιλοπούλου,* Πολιτειακά όργανα και κράτος δικαίου στη βυζαντινή αυτοκρατορία, "Αφιέρωμα στον Νίκο Σβορώνο", τ. α΄, Ρέθυμνο 1986, 190.

πόηχος από τις έριδες Ορθοδόξων Χαλκηδονείων και Μονοφυσιτών, ενώ είναι παράλληλα έκδηλες οι χαλκηδόνειες θέσεις της "Διαλέξεως". Αυτές οι δογματικές, καταρχήν, διαμάχες εταλάνιζαν τις ανατολικές επαρχίες του Βυζαντίου, αλλά ήταν ήσσονος σημασίας για τη χάραξη της πολιτικής του σε περιοχές που δεν ανήκαν στο αυτοκρατορικό territorium. Η πλήρης εξάρτηση του τοπικού ηγεμόνα από τον βυζαντινό επιχώριο επίσκοπο συνιστούσε τη λυσιτελέστερη μεθόδευση τόσο για την εξασφάλιση της μόνιμης εξαρτήσεως της Himyar από την Κωνσταντινούπολη, ως ενός από τα états-tampons της αυτοκρατορίας, όσο και για τη διαρκή προώθηση και μόνιμη ικανοποίηση των βυζαντινών συμφερόντων στην ευρεία περιοχή, την τόσο σημαντική για το Βυζάντιο, δεδομένου ότι αυτή γειτνίαζε με τα τότε εδάφη της περσικής αυτοκρατορίας και, ακόμη, δέσποζε της εμπορικής οδού προς και από τις Ινδίες.

ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ Κ. ΠΑΠΑΣΤΑΘΗΣ

L'usurpateur byzantin Thomas et les Arabes

L'insurrection de l'ususpateur byzantin Thomas de 821-823 a été déjà l'objet d'une série d'études.[1] Néamoins il y a des problèmes qui jusqu'à présent sont – et peut-être restent – controversés; ce sont entre autres les relations arabes des activités de Thomas. Ce problème n'est pas de moindre importance parce qu'il se trouve – plus ou moins – en correlation avec les aspects byzantins internes. Pour cela il me soit permis de prendre ce thème, mais de le traiter dans un cadre spécial et restreint: Je ne vais me concentrer que sur quelques aspects purement byzantino-arabes du commencement de cette insurrection – sur la base des sources byzantines et du peu d'informations des sources orientales.

Θωμᾶς, ὁ ἀντάρτης, comme il est nommé dans les sources byzantines, chef des fédérés dans le thème micrasiatique des Anatoliques, se souleva aux premiers mois de l'an 821 à la tête de ses troupes contre le nouvel empereur Michel II qui avait été couronné lui-même après une usurpation sanglante contre Léon V le 25 décembre 820. Mais il faut avouer que cela soit seulement une des deux versions courantes de cet événement.

Car justement la première année de l'insurrection, quand Thomas opéra en Asie Mineure et avant qu'il marcha contre Constantinople, est la moins attestée ou bien la moins précisément attestée. Ça concerne particulièrement les premiers mois. Chez les auteurs byzantins on trouve deux versions sur cette insurrection qui diffèrent le plus en égard

1. Par exemple A.A. Vasiliev, Byzance et les Arabes, t. 1; La dynastie d'Amorium (820-867), éd. H. Grégoire, M. Canard, Bruxelles 1935, 22-49, en russe: Petersburg 1900; E.E. Lipšic, Vosstanie Fomy Slavjanina, dans: Očerki istorii vizantijskogo obščestva i kul'tury VIII – pervaja polovina IX veka, Moskva – Leningrad 1961, 212-228; P. Lemerle, Thomas le Slave, Travaux et mémoires 1 (1965) 255-297; H. Köpstein, Zur Erhebung des Thomas, dans: Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert in Byzanz, hrsg. von H. Köpstein und F. Winkelmann, Berlin 1983, 61-87, qui citent l'autre litérature.

à son début. L'une d'eux base sur le récit de Michel II dans sa lettre à Louis le Débonnaire, écrite en 824 (le 10 avril), après qu'il avait abattu Thomas. Mais qouique ce récit soit la seule source contemporaine, les recherches de Franjo Barišić[2] et de Paul Lemerle[3] ont montré qu'en grande partie ce n'es qu'un version de propagande et d'alibi pour le nouvel empereur, qui était intéressé à gagner la faveur de Louis le Pieux – et du Pape – et qui, pour justifier son sanglant avènement au trône, cherchait à discréditer Thomas, son rival. Selon Michel, Thomas, au temps d'Irène, après s'être rendu coupable contre son maître sénatorial à Constantinople, s'enfuit chez les Arabes, abjura sa foi et se fit passer pour Constantin, fils d'Irène (=Constantin VI), qui avait pu se sauver de son aveuglement (en 797); en 820, 25 ans plus tard, à la tête de troupes arabes, il envahit l'Asie Mineure byzantine et se révolta contre Léon V. Celui-ci – selon Michel – avait été incapable de vaincre Thomas. Seulement Michel, après la chute de Léon V, réussit à abattre Thomas. – Selon l'autre version – déjà mentionnée plus haut –, qui ne nous est parvenue que dès le 10e siècle, mais qui apparut déjà en partie chez Grégoire le Moine au 9e siècle (v. ci-dessous), selon cette version, qui a plus de vraisemblance,[4] Thomas sortit du thème des Anatoliques et vainquit le stratège des Arméniaques en 821 – c'est-à-dire il se révolta contre Michel II –, et seulement après des raids arabes en territoire byzantin, Thomas montra aux Arabes sa force militaire pour les empêcher d'envahir l'empire byzantin encore une fois. A la frontière byzantino-arabe il y avaient des luttes presqu' ininterrompues, mais c'étaient depuis longtemps les Arabes qui avaient pris l'initiative. L'usurpateur Thomas qui voulut gagner et garder l'adhérence de la population micrasiatique, avait à la défendre contre ces attaques arabes. Les sources de cette version-ci relatent que Thomas réussit, atteignit même une sorte d'accord avec les Arabes et se fit couronner par le patriarche melchite à Antioche.

Mais quelle était la position arabe ou mieux: la vue arabe? Malheureusement les sources arabes proprement dites semblent se taire absolument de ce fait; il y a seulement le récit de Michel le Syrien et de courtes notices des auteurs arméniens, d'Etienne de Taron et de Samouel d'Ani.

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2. F. Barišić, Génésios et le continuateur de Théophane, Byzantion 28 (1958) 119-133; idem, Les sources de Génésios et du Continuateur de Théophane pour l'histoire du règne de Michel II (820-829), ibid. 31 (1961) 257-271; idem, Dve verzije u izvorima o ustaniku Tomi, Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta 6 (1960) 145-169 (rés. franç.).

3. Voyez note 1.

4. Pour l'argumentation et les références de tout ce qui ne concerne pas les affaires arabes et la thème ici traité au sens propre, v. mon article ci-dessus cité.

Il faut d'abord rappeler les sources les plus importantes elles-mêmes et en abrégé les faire passer en revue en égard à ces événements arabes et à leur ordre:

Michel II[5] (824) qui transfère le début de l'action de Thomas le règne de Léon V, la raconte en ordre suivant:

– Thomas, depuis 795 chez les Arabes, avait abrogé sa foi, dit qu'il est Constantin, fils d'Irène, et gagna beaucoup de gens;

– en 820 il sortit avec ses adhérents étrangers du territoire arabe et lutta avec succès contre l'Arménie, la Chaldie et le stratège des Arméniaques. Léon ne le vainquit pas.

Ses informations suivantes se réfèrent au siège de Constantinople qui commença en décembre 821, c'est-à-dire il n'y a aucune information sur toute l'année 821.

Georges le Moine[6] (qui écrivit en 842-867) commence son récit sous l'an 821:

– Thomas se souleva en Asie Mineure et attaqua la capitale; mais Grégoire attribue une rétrospection:

– Thomas était allé en Syrie, s'était surnommé Constantin, fils d'Irène et avait ainsi trompé beaucoup de barbares et de chrétiens et rassemblé des gens innombrables de peuples diverses, et alors marcha à Constantinople.

Il faut dire que ces activités de Thomas en Syrie sont ni datés ni motivés. Pour l'an 821 il n'y a que l'information maigre que Thomas se souleva et attaqua Constantinople. Et il est évident que Georges le Moine y reproduit deux traditions contradictoires qu'il n'essaie pas d'harmoniser.

Les rédactions de la chronique de Syméon le Logothéte (au 10e siècle) donnent un récit analogue.[7]

Génésios et le Continuateur de Théophane (qui écrivirent au 10e siècle sous Constantin VII) rélatent chacun d'eux les deux versions (dans l'ordre inverse), sont très détaillés et accentuent pour la première fois l'existence de deux traditions.

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5. MGH, Legum sectio III: Concilia II, p. II, ed. A. Werminghoff, Hannover – Leipzig 1908, 475-480, spéc. 476,7 – 478,16.

6. Georgios Monachos, Chronicon, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1904, 793,7 – 797,16, spéc. 793,7-16; v. aussi Lemerle 259-261.

7. Georgius continuatus, dans: Theoph. cont. (v. n. 8) 784-789, spéc. 784,1-9; Ps.-Symeon, dans: op. cit., 621,4-19, spéc. 4-11; V.J. Sreznevskij (Ed.), Slavjanskij perevod chroniki Simeona Logotheta, VR London 1971, 92, 19-32, spéc. 19-24; Leo Grammaticus, Chronographia, ex recogn. I. Bekkeri, Bonn 1842, 211,7 – 213,6; Theodosius Melitenus, Chronographia, ed. Th. L.F. Tafel, München 1859, 146,3-21, spéc. 3-11.

La variante B de Génésios et A du Continuateur que les auteurs eux-mêmes considèrent pour la plus croyable,[8] correspondent au récit de Michel II:

– Au temps de l'empereur Nicéphore, Thomas s'enfuit en Syrie (Theoph. cont.: chez les Arabes), abjura sa foi et après y avoir vécu 25 ans (!), il se fit passer pour Constantin, fils d'Irène.

– Au temps de Léon V il promit aux Arabes de leur conquérir l'empire byzantin s'ils lui donnaient de l'argent et de troupes. Il envahit l'Asie Mineure et vainquit les troupes de l'empereur «auxquelles Léon avait donné comme chef un soldat plutôt qu'un stratège» (comme dit Génésios).[9]

– Aprés la chute sanglante de Léon V, Thomas forma et répara la force navale et attaqua la capitale.

8. Iosephi Genesii regum libri IV, recc. A. Lesmueller-Werner et I. Thurn, CFHB 1978, 25, 50 – 26,83; 25,50: οὕτως φασὶ τὰ κατὰ Θωμᾶν ἀκριβέστερον διεξιστορεῖσθαι; Theophanes continuatus ... ex recogn. I. Bekkeri, Bonn 1830, 50,18 – 52,7; 50,17 f.: Ὁ μὲν οὖν εἷς καὶ πρῶτος λόγος ᾧ καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι ἐξ ἐγγράφων τινῶν ἔχων τὸ βέβαιον. – Pour la critique des sources v. Barišic, ci-dessus n. 2.

9. Genes. 26, 78. Les reproches de Theoph. cont. ne sont pas tant dirigés aussi contre le chef militaire, mais en premier lieu contre Léon V, qui δύναμίν τινα ... συστήσας οὐκ ἀξιόλογον αὐτὴν μὲν σφαλῆναι ἐποίησεν (ThC 52,2-3; mais – ThC 67,2-3 – Michel II ἀξιόλογον συστήσας στρατόν, en 823, envoya Olbianos et Katakylas contre Thomas). Michel II ne dit que: Thomas ... ducem Armeniacorum cum manu valida devicit; mais il est le seul auteur de cette variante qui parle d'un chef des A r m é n i a q u e s. Vita Sym. (n. 16) 232,9 s. seulement: Ἀρμ. θέμα. Selon l'autre variante (début de l'insurrection au temps de Michel II) ce ne sont que les stratèges des Arméniaques (Olbiamos) et de l'Opsikion (Katakylas) qui sont fidèles à Michel II et combattent l'usurpateur Thomas (Genes. 23,3 – 24,7; ThC 53,21 – 54,2). – C'est Manouel l'Arménien, Prôtostrator sous Michel I (ThC 24,2-3; 110,4-5), qui fut élevé «stratège des Arméniens» par Léon V l'Arménien (ThC 24,4 [mais ThC 110,3-5; τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Λέοντος προηγούμενος et avant sous Michel I Prôtostrator]; et encore une fois sous Théophile, le mari de sa nièce: ThC 149,6; 148,13-14), et probablement Manouel resta dans cette fonction jusqu' à la mort de Léon V; Olbianos, comme partisan fidèle de Michel II, reçut sa fonction évidemment seulement par Michel, comme Katakylas, ἐξαδελφός de Michel (Genes. 25,48). C'est-à-dire Michel II voulant imputer la responsabilité pour l'insurrection de Thomas à Leon V, discrimina avec sa remarque citée en même temps un adhérent de Léon qui vraisemblablement sympathisa avec Thomas et le laissa faire. Et en même temps il justifia la destitution de Manouel et la désignation d'Olbianos. La remarque de Génésios (26,78) ci-dessus citée correspond à la tendance promacédonienne (v. la parenté de Manouel avec Théophile). – F. Winkelmann, Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1985, suppose (81 et – plus prudemment – 77-78) que Manouel fût d'abord stratège des Anatoliques et ensuite des Arméniaques. Mais les passages Theoph. cont. 24,2-3 et 110,4-5 se réfèrent tous led deux au début de la règne de Léon V et mentionnent le prôtostratorat comme immédiatement précedant ce stratégat. Je crains qu'on ne puisse prouver ni l'un ni l'autre.

L'autre version (variante A de Génésios, B du Continateur) voici:[10]

– Après l'assassinat de Léon V par Michel qui fut hai par l'armée des Anatoliques, Thomas qui était aimé par les troupes, se souleva contre le nouvel empereur Michel. Tous les thèmes à l'exception de deux se ralliaient à lui.[11]

– Stimulés par ces événements les Arabes envahirent les îles et les régions. Thomas montra sa force militaire, proposa aux Arabes un traité, se fit couronner par le patriarche à Antioche et, à la tête de troupes polyethniques, marcha contre Constantinople.[12]

Selon cette version Thomas n'était pas émigré chez les Arabes, il a commencé l'insurrection en Asie Mineure, et seulement après cela il se défendit contre les Arabes, passa le traité etc.; Michel II et Thomas sont montrés – et caracterisés par l'éthopoiie[13] – comme deux rivaux.

Jean Scylitzès (au 11[e] siècle) raconte les deux versions, un peu abrégées, comme le Continuateur, presque mot pour mot.[14]

10. Genes. 23,80 – 25,49; ThC 52,8 – 55,11.

11. Mais nous n'apprenons aucun nom d'un stratège qui combattait à côté de Thomas – à l'exception de l'ex-stratège Ptérôtos, neveu de Léon V, qui ensuite quitta Thomas (Theoph. cont. 57,16 – 58,9; 62,19 – 63,18; Genes. 27,22-26; 29,70-74) – et aucune punition d'un stratège qui avait soutenu Thomas – mais la punition (prison) de l'ancien ἐκ προσώπου du Kibyraioton Jean Echimos (le moine Antoine), le stratège du thème (Lemerle 291-293, spèc. 292, n. 129), qui avait combattu (?) et puni de confiscations les adhérents de Thomas (!) (BHG 142: Vita Antonii Iunioris, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, chap. 10-12. 31, Pravoslavnyj palestinskij sbornik 19,3 = fasc. 57 [1907] 193-195. 109; v. aussi F. Halkin, Analecta Bollandiana 62 (1944) 187-225). Je doute que la date de la nomination de Jean fût «sûrement» de 821 (Lemerle 292, n. 129; mais Halkin 196. 197; 821 ou 822); la Vie d'Antoine ne le dit expressément; et les autres sources, au contraire, racontent que Thomas rassemblait ses forces en 821 justement au thème de Kibyraioton, aucune mention d'un stratège ennemi à Thomas. Pour cela il ne peut être nommé stratège plus tôt qu'en 822, quand Thomas opéra déjà sous les murs de Constantinople; dans ce temps-là Jean combattait les a d h é r e n t s de Thomas (194, 32 – 195,3: τοὺς ... τῷ ἀποστάτῃ καὶ λαοπλάνῳ προσφθαρέντας Θωμᾷ) en confisquant leurs biens (comme est dit 209,2-5; 195,2-3 peut être compris au sens figuré). Son prédécesseur en chef du Kibyraioton était probablement le stratège que Thomas avait envoyé à la tête de la flotte à Constantinople et dont le nom n'est pas mentionné (Theoph.cont. 58,7; Skyl. 33, 57s.; cf. aussi Genes. 27,27: ἄμφω). – Le silence des sources sur les noms des stratèges qui soutinrent Thomas ou au moins ne le combattirent pas, résulte peut-être du désir de ne pas agrandir encore l'importance de cette insurrection. – V. aussi n. 9.

12. Le Continuateur y mêle – ou répète – des aspects de l'autre version, par ex.: Thomas promet aux Arabes de leur conquérir l'empire byzantin (54,21-23; cf. 51,10-12); l'empereur (Michel II!) envoie des troupes qui sont vaincus (55,13-18. 15: ἐκπέμπει στρατὸν οὐκ ἀξιόχρεον οὐδ' ἀξιόλογον, mais cf. 52,1-3; Λέων ... δύναμίν τινα κατ' αὐτοῦ συστήσας οὐκ ἀξιόλογον αὐτὴν μὲν σφαλῆσαι ἐποίησεν).

13. Genes. 23, 82-89; Theoph. cont. 52,28 – 53,6.

14. Ioannes Skylitza, Synopsis historiarum, rec. I. Thurn, CFHB 1973, 29-18 – 41,95.

Jean Zonaras[15] (au 12e siècle) est le premier qui essaie de ne donner qu'une version homogène:

Après l'assassinat de Léon V par Michel, Thomas se souleva sous prétexte de venger son bienfaiseur, en réalité pour gagner le trône. Il s'empara des impôts (un fait raconté déjà par leus auteurs du 10e siècle) et presque tout l'Orient était à lui. Ainsi il combattait avec succès contre les Arabes qui pillaient «le pays et les îles» et leur promit des régions frontières, s'ils l'aidaient à gagner le trône. Il se fit couronner à Antioche. Ses troupes étaient composées d'Arabes et d'autres peuples. Il se surnomma Constantin. Après avoir vaincu l'armée envoyée par Michel II, il multiplia ses forces et marcha contre la capitale.

Ce récit est homogène et bien réfléchi; mais il est éloigné des événements plus de trois siècles.

Il est à mentionner encore le rapport des Actes de David, Syméon et Georges de Mytilène[16] (écrits au 9e/10e siècle, mais connus seulement dans une version du 14e siècle):

– Thomas, au temps d'Irène, s'enfuit aux Arabes, abdandonnant sa patrie, sa foi et son maître.

– En 820 il rassembla des troupes chez les Arabes en leur promettant de leur soumettre l'empire byzantin, et marcha au thème des Arméniaques.

– Après l'avènement de Michel II au trône il continua à avancer, il dit qu'il soit Constantin, fils d'Irène, et ainsi les Byzantines[17] en guerre civile tuèrent les uns les autres.

En principe c'est la version de Michel II. Mais malgré la mention du long séjour de Thomas chez les Arabes, rien n'est dit d'une défaite des troupes de l'empereur (Léon V) au thème des Arméniaques, et la prétention d'être Constantin, fils d'Irène, est raconté seulement quand Thomas opéra en Asie Mineure, en territoire byzantin.

Les informations des sources byzantines sur le début et les contacts byzantino-arabes de cette insurrection sont maigres, vagues et contredisent les unes des autres. La fuite de Thomas chez les Arabes au temps d'Irène (ou de Nicéphore) racontée déjà par Michel II pour discriminer son rival, est peu vraisemblable. Mais quoiqu' il en soit, l'autre version parle aussi des contacts de Thomas avec les Arabes, mais ici Thomas

15. Ioannes Zonaras, Epitomai historiarum libri XVIII, ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst, t. 3, Bonn 1897, 339,13 – 347,13, spéc. 339,13 – 341,12.

16. BHG 494: Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo, Anal. Boll. 18 (1899) 231,22 – 232,19 (BHG 494).

17. Vita Sym. 232, 17: ὁμότροποι γὰρ καὶ ὁμογάστριοι κατ' ἀλλήλων ἐμαίνοντο.

agit comme saveur, pas comme «traître de la patrie». En tout cas les sources byzantines parlent d'activités militaires des Arabes en 821 contre les zones frontières et aussi «les îles». Ce terme est assez vague, il concerne peut-être les Cyclades.[18]

Et enfin – comme les sources arabes ne disent rien de tout cela – qu'est-ce que raconte Michel le Syrien,[19] patriarche jacobite d'Antioche du 12e siècle (1166-1199), la seule source orientale un peu plus détaillée? Elle est basée sur l'œuvre – pour la plupart perdue – de Denys de Tell-Mahre, contemporain de Thomas et patriarche jacobite d'Antioche lui aussi et à qui étaient accessibles aussi les sources byzantines. Voici le texte:[20]

Dès le temps de Haroun (c'est le temps d'Irène et de Nicéphore) Thomas prétendit qu'il était fils de Constantin (évidemment un simple changement des mots Constantin, fils [scil. d'Irène]). Il demanda une armée pour s'emparer de l'empire byzantin, mais ne la receva du calife. Mais le successeur de celui-ci, Mamoun (dans les sources byzantines le nom du calife n'est jamais mentionné), lui donna une armée, «''soit pour s'emparer de l'empire des Romains et le lui livrer, soit pour les troubles par la guerre''» (c'est une interprétation de l'auteur). «Thomas était un magicien et prétendait avoir des visions.» (C'est probablement une confusion avec Michel II duquel est dit – dans des récits du 10e siècle – qu'il appartenait à l'hérésie des Athinganes.[21]) Le siège de Constantinople dura six mois. (Comme il commença en décembre [821] et finit en mai [823], l'auteur n'a peut-être qu'omi l'an 822, ou il a fait mention seulement du dernier des sièges; cf. plus bas Etienne de Taron. Michel, étant réduit aux abois, promit le retour aux prisonniers arabes, s'ils voulaient combattre le rebelle. Ils sortirent avec les Byzantins et vainquirent les troupes du rebelle. Celui-ci s'enfuit dans une certaine forteresse (Arcadiopolis).

18. Theoph. cont. (54, 8-10), Genes. (24, 8-9), Zon. (340, 10-12) emploient les mots généraux Ἀγαρηνοί ou Σαρακηνοί ce que permet de les référer aux Ἀγαρηνοί γειτονοῦντες καὶ ὁμοροῦντες (Theoph. cont. 55, 4-5). Pour la terminologie des «Arabes» v. V. Christides, Byzantion 51 (1981) 83-89; cf. idem, The Names Ἄραβες, Σαρακηνοί etc. and their False Byzantine Etymologies, Byzantinische Zeitschrift 65 (1972) 329-333.

19. Chronique de Michel le Syrien, éd. et trad. par J.-B. Chabot, t. 3 (trad.), Paris 1905, 37 (XII 9); pour la tradition et les sources v. l'introduction dans t. 1, 1899; R. Abramowski, Dionysius von Tellmahre. Jakobitischer Patriarch von 818-845. Zur Geschichte der Kirche unter dem Islam, Leipzig 1940.

20. Le texte sinon abrégé est donné littéralement dans la traduction de Chabot.

21. Genes. 23, 84-85; Theoph. cont. 52, 19-20; v. I. Rochow, Die Häresie der Athinganer im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert und die Frage ihres Fortlebens, dans: Studien zum 8. und 9. Jahrhundert (v. n. 1), 163-179.

– Cet épisode – peu croyable – ne se trouve pas dans les sources byzantines qoique celles-ci racontent minutieusement ces derniers combats et sûrement les sachent mieux. Mais cette légende semble être allée au concept de Michel le Syrien (ou bien de sa source). Parce que Thomas fut couronné par un patriarche melchite, un patriarche chalcédonien, le combat contre un tel rebelle, quoique Thomas ait été encouragé par les Arabes, devait être considéré par un patriarche jacobite aussi comme louable, d'autant plus que l'empereur byzantin selon le texte de Michel le Syrien ne tint pas sa parole à ces prisonniers arabes et pouvait être blâmé en même temps. Il faut ajouter qu'il ne soit pas dit expressément que ces prisonniers arabes de Michel II avaient combattu dans l'armée de Thomas.

C'est au fond la version de Michel II, raccourcie, mal entendue et même déformée – soit par Michel le Syrien, soit déjà par Denys de Tell-Mahre.[22]

Ce récit n'offre rien de nouveau confirmé. L'information que Haroun refusa de donner des troupes à Thomas et plus tard Mamoun y consentit, n'est peut-être que l'essai d'une interprétation raisonnée de ce prétendu long séjour de Thomas chez les Arabes, duquel parle l'une version byzantine.

Dans le récit de Michel le Syrien sur le règne de Théophilos – pour l'an 831 et après le récit du retour de Manouel l'Arménien des Arabes chez

22. Michel lui-même (Mich. Syr. 111 [XII 21]) nomme Denys de Tell-Mahre sa source pour le temps de 532 à 842. Abramowski (26) dit: (Im kirchenpolitischen Bericht der Chronik des Michael ist) "über jeden Zweifel hinaus deutlich, daß die Beschreibung der Regierung unseres Patriarchen (Michael XII 9-21) aus dessen eigener Feder stammt." Mais (p. 28): "... dürfen wir an den Profahnistoriker Dionysius keine zu hohen Forderungen stellen." p. 29: "... die Darstellung rhomäischer Hofpolitik erscheint gelegentlich sehr verzeichnet. Das gesamte Geschichtsbild hat nicht entfernt die Geschlossenheit wie die erwähnte Kirchengeschichte." Pour le style de Denys v. Abramowski 13. 42. 66/67, de Michel: idem 16. – Malheureusement il n'y a pas de possibilités d'une comparaison du texte de Michel avec sa source parallèle et indépendant de lui: La Chronique anonyme de 1234 (Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens, vol. 2, trad. par A. Abouna. Introduction, notes et index de J.-M. Fiey, Louvain 1974 [CSCO 354; Script. syri 154]) offre dans son histoire ecclésiastique une lacune pour le temps qui nous intéresse (p. 198) et dans son histoire civile ne dit rien de Thomas (p. 10). Bar Hebraeus (E. A.W. Budge, The Chronography of Gregory Abûl'-Faraj 1225-1286 ... Bar Hebraeus ..., Vol. 1: Engl. translat., Repr. Amsterdam 1976) base sur Michel et ne donne que de courts extraits (p. 129. 133) de sa source, sans les explications, mais avec des semblables absurdités. Selon Bar Hebraeus le rebelle, après son couronnement, vécut même dans le camp des «Rhômâyê» (Michel: Taiyaye) (anisi les traducteurs). Pour Ignace de Melitène qui dépend de Denys v. Abramowski 17.

Théophilos – il y a un doublet, évidemment basé sur une autre version, mais sans que soit mentionné le nom de Thomas:[23]

Mamoun alla en Cilicie où en Byzantin (qui se prétendit) de dynastie impériale, lui demanda de la faire régner. Mamoun était d'accord et ordonna à Job, patriarche des Chalcédoniens d'Antioche, de le sacrer empereur. (Les sources byzantines ne disent que cela. Michel ajoute, un peu naïf, d'abord:) Car Mamoun «avait entendu dire qu'un empereur n'était point établi sans le patriarche.» (Mais il continue décrivant le cérémonial:) «Après avoir récité sur lui les prières le patriarche lui mit une couronne, dont l'or et les pierres précieuses valaient trois mille dinars.» – Ça ne semble pas une pure invention, mais une information concrète du patriarche jacobite contemporain [818-845] Denys de Tell-Mahre[24] – ainsi comme probablement l'autre fait raconté, l'excommunication de Job par une assemblée des évêques à Constantinople à cause de ce couronnement, laquelle n'est cependant mentionnée par aucune source byzantine; mais ce silence irait bien à la tendance byzantine officielle de n'enfler point l'affaire de Thomas – comme le récit de Michel à la tendance jacobite de blâmer le patriarche melchite.[25]

Malgré la chronologie fausse (qui apparaît aussi dans l'historiographie arménienne[26]) et l'absence du nom de Thomas il est accepté[27] – et je pense qu'on peut l'accepter, quoiqu' avec des réserves – que tout cela se concerne à ce rebelle. On y trouve tous les éléments connus déjà des (ou de) sources byzantines: la prétention d'être de dynastie impériale, l'accord avec Mamoun, le couronnement à Antioche par Job. Ce doublet peut être causé par le fait que dans le texte du patriarche Michel/Denys de Tell-Mahre toutes les deux fois il est question de Manouel l'Arménien

23. Mich. Syr. 75 (XII 16); v. aussi n. 20.

24. V. n. 22.

25. Michel continue: «Celui qui avait commencé à régner ne prospéra pas, car personne ne vint à lui. Après être demeuré deux ans dans le camp des Arabes, il se fut musulman ...» Abramowski (75. 110) réfère ce texte au patriarche Job. Mais Job était patriarche melchite d'Antioche de 813/4 jusqu'à 844/45 (V. Grumel, La chronologie, Paris 1958, 447)! De l'autre coté ce récit purement civil ne va pas bien à Thomas, qui était un chef militaire et ensuite marcha à Constantinople – quoique c'était lui qui «avait commencé à régner» et quoiqu'il y a des sources byzantines qui lui reprochent l'abjuration de foi (Mich. II 476, 13-16; Vita Sym. 232, 3-4. 13-15).

26. V. ci-dessous et n. 29. – Pour Michel le Syrien Chabot donne des tableaux chronologiques instructifs, pour le temps ici traité v. t. 3, 414-416.

27. Par ex. Vasiliev 32, n. 3; Lemerle 283; V. Grumel, Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople, vol. 1, Chalcedon 1936, Nr. 412 (vers 822); Abramowski, op. cit. 41; Chabot 75, n. 6 annonce seulement le récit de Cedrenus sur Thomas, tandis que Bury (v. n. 44), 89, n. 1, dit: The Greek sources give no support to this story.

peu avant le récit de Thomas – et par les deux versions byzantines. Elles aussi diffèrent entre autres par cela que l'une dit que Thomas se prétendit Constantin, fils d'Irène, et l'autre parle du couronnement à Antioche. En outre, l'existence de deux versions sur Thomas déjà avant le milieu du 9e siècle est recommandée déjà par le récit de Georges le Moine. S'il en est ainsi, ça serait une affirmation du couronnement à Antioche, comme raconté par une source antiochéenne. Malgré les doutes qui restent, la condamnation totale de Michel le Syrien par Paul Lemerle[28] me semble un peu exagérée.

Il y a encore de courtes notices arméniennes.

Samouel d'Ani, qui vécut au 12e siècle, dit dans ses Tables chronologiques sous l'an 806:[29] «Un faux monarque, nommé Thomas, vient à Carin.»[30] C'est une affirmation de la route arménienne de Thomas, de laquelle parle Michel II – mais en ordre inverse, de l'est à l'ouest.

Et sous l'an 827 Samouel dit de Théophile:[31] «Il fait la guerre à l'imposteur Thomas.»

Samouel qui se basa entre autres sur la traduction arménienne de Michel le Syrien,[32] donne comme celui-ci deux récits (un dernier reflet faible des deux versions byzantines?), l'un sous Théophilos et l'autre déjà sous Nicéphoros[33], mais aucun sous (Léon V ou) Michel II! Le fait que Samouel mentionne le nom de Thomas toutes les deux fois, parle en faveur de Thomas dans le deuxième récit de Michel le Syrien qui se réfère aussi au temps de Théophilos.[34]

28. Lemerle 283 quant à ce récit: «Laissons ces caricatures de l'histoire.» Et je doute, qu'on puisse dire généralisant que «les sources non-byzantines sont, *comme à l'ordinaire*, encore plus décevantes» (op. cit. 282).

29. Samouel d'Ani, Tables chronologiques, dans: Collection d'historiens arméniens, trad. par M. Brosset, t. 2, St.-Pétersbourg 1876, 339-483, spéc. 421; v. aussi M. Brosset, Samouel d'Ani, revue général de sa chronologie, Bulletin de l'Académie imp. des sciences de St.-Pétersbourg 18 (1873) 402-442 = Mélanges asiatiques tirés du Bull. ... 6 (1869-1873), 1873, 741-798, spéc. 749; Χρ. Μ. Μπαρτικιάν, Τὸ Βυζάντιον εἰς τὰς ἀρμενικὰς πηγάς, Thessaloniki 1981, spéc. 109-111.

30. Carin, c'est Theodosiopolis, maintenant Erzurum.

31. Samouel d'Ani 423.

32. V. n. 29. La traduction française de la version arménienne par V. Langlois, Venise 1868, ne m'était pas accessible.

33. Pas sous Léon V, comme dit M. Brosset, dans: Samouel d'Ani 420, n. 3.

34. Il est à noter que les remarques de Samouel se réfèrent toutes les deux à un imposteur ou faux monarque, nommé Thomas. C'est un mélange des deux versions ou peut-être signifie que Thomas agit comme empereur (illégal) Thomas avant qu'il se fît couronner à Antioche empereur et se fît nommer Constantin (v. plus bas); cf. aussi le deuxième récit de Michel le Syrien.

Etienne de Taron, qui écrivit déjà au 10e/11e siècle, était moine et un ardent ennemi des Chalcédoniens. Dans son énumération des empereurs byzantins, qui est basée sur des sources plus anciennes, il dit sous Michel II:[35]

«Sous ce prince se souleva[36] Thomas l'imposteur» (ce surnom qui se trouve déjà chez Samouel, annonce la prétention d'être Constantin VI), «et il y eut parmi les chrétiens troubles et exterminations». Mais en 272 de l'ère arménienne (823/24) l'empereur Michel combattit Thomas «et l'ayant fait prisonnier, lui fit couper les pieds et les mains et le fit mettre en croix.»[37] – Ici même la chronologie est à peu près correcte.[38]

Quant à l'ἀκρωτηριασμός, il n'y a pas de divergences dans les sources. Mais la peine de mort proprement dite, que subit Thomas, n'était pas le crucifiement, comme dit Etienne (ou seulement les traducteurs?), mais une sorte de supplice[39] auquel furent mis déjà dans l'antiquité les «brigands»[40] et qui semble être mentionné aussi dans l'Eclogué.[41] D'ailleurs déjà la peine brutale de mutilation devait tuer le con-

35. Des Stephanos von Taron Armenische Geschichte. Aus dem Altarmen. übs. von H. Gelzer und A. Burckhardt, Leipzig 1907, 107, 12-17; Histoire universelle par Eetienne Açogh'ig de Daron, trad. de l'armén. et annotée par E. Dulaurier, p. 1, Paris 1883, 171; pour l'œuvre d'Etienne et ses sources (aussi byzantines) v. p. 2 (éd.: F. Macler), Paris 1917, spéc. CXLII s.; aussi Bartikian 84-88.

36. Dulaurier: arriva; Gelzer/Burckhardt: stand auf.

37. Traduction de Gelzer/Burckhardt, 107, 16-17: hing ihn ans Kreuz.

38. Si on suit la traduction allemande (Aber im 272[sten] Jahre der Ära kämpfte der Kaiser Mikhayēl mit Thumay ...) qui réfère la datation à la fin de l'insurrection, tandis que Dulaurier la relie avec le texte précedent, les «troubles parmi les chrétiens», c'est-à-dire il la réfère à toute la durée de l'insurrection. – Suit un récit d'une guerre de Michel II contre les Arabes, par terre (Gelzer/Burckhardt: bei dem Flechen Kurn ..., ebenso bei Ankiuria) ou par eau (Dulaurier: en détruisit un nombré considérable sur leur flotte fortement équipée).

39. Genes. 31,53: ἐπὶ κοντοῦ ... ἀναρτᾶσθαι; Theoph. cont. 72, 12-13: τῷ ξύλῳ ἐξήρτηνται; Skyl. 41, 94-95: ἀνεσκολοπίσθησαν; Zon. 347, 13: ἀνασκολοπίσας (les trois derniers passages se réfèrent à Choireas et Gazarenos, les adhérents de Thomas). Mich. II 477, 30: patibulo suspendi; ça n'est pas de crucifiement, mais la traduction de ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι, comme le texte de Michel le Syrien, trad. par Chabot (37): et le fixèrent au bout d'une lance, cf. Genes. et Theoph. cont.

40. Dig. 48, 19, 28, 15: Famosos latrones in his locis, ubi grassati sunt, furca figendos compluribus placuit, ut et conspectu deterreantur alii ab isdem facinoribus et solacio sit cognatis et adfinibus interemptorum eodem loco poena reddita, in quo latrones homicidia fecissent.

41. Ἐκλογή 17, 50: Ὁ ληστεύων καὶ ἔνεδρα ποιῶν καὶ φονεύων, ἐν ᾧ κρατεῖται τόπῳ, φουρκιζέσθω. Epanagoge 40,20: ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι. Sur la peine de φουρκίζεσθαι = ἀνασκολοπίζεσθαι (strangulation par la furca) v. les recherches substantielles de P. F. de' Cavalieri, Della furca e della sua sostituzione alle croce nel diritto penale romano, Nuovo bulletino de archeologia cristiana 13 (1907) 63-114.

damné en peu de temps.[42]

En résumant il faut dire que ces courtes notices des sources orientales ne rendent que peu de service quant à Thomas et ses relations avec les Arabes, mais il faut d'en tenir compte. Le premier récit de Michel le Syrien mentionne le seul le prétendu long séjour de Thomas chez les Arabes. Le deuxième texte du patriarche jacobite et les notices des Arméniens ne relatent (ou mentionnent) que l'événement lui-même. L'une notice de Samouel et les récits de Michel le Syrien confirment au moins que Thomas avait été effectivement chez les Arabes au commencement de son insurrection, et du deuxième récit du patriarche Michel résulte – si on accepte la prémisse – que Thomas fut couronné par le patriarche melchite Job à Antioche, comme relatent aussi des sources byzantines (du 10e siècle).[43] Ça présuppose que le calife y ait consenti, ce que signifie qu'il avait été interéssé à cela, je ne pense pas: pour troubler l'empereur byzantin, mais plutôt pour n'être pas troublé lui-même par les troupes de Thomas. Car, comme est bien connu, al-Mamoun avait à combattre des ennemis multiples dans son propre empire, d'abord, jusqu' à 819, son frère, al-Amin, plus tard des insurrections en Arménie, en Azerbaïdjan, en Iraq, en Egypte. Son souci principal devait être de ne pas susciter encore des combats à ses frontières.

Une autre question à laquelle je voudrais revenir, c'est le nom impérial de l'usurpateur Thomas. En 1912 Bury avait constaté qu'un Constantin VI, fils d'Irène, n'aurait pas eu besoin de se faire couronner empereur.[44] Mais il faut dire que Michel II ne dit rien du couronnement et l'autre version rien d'un prétendu Constantin VI. Paul Lemerle déclara la lettre de Michel II comme légende parfaite; mais comme j'ai essayé à montrer ailleurs, ce n'est pas une pure légende, mais plutôt une habile déformation des faits.[45] Et ainsi il semble le plus probable que Thomas s'est effectivement surnommé Constantin; mais il n'a pas dit qu'il était Constantin VI, fils d'Irène, mais il avait adopté le nom de Constantin comme nom impé-

42. Ainsi Theoph. cont. (69, 14-15. 20-22) et Skyl. (40, 59-61. 65-67) ne parlent que de cette mutilation de pieds et de mains (et de sa peine d'aller à l'âne à travers l'arène [ou bien l'armée]) et de sa mort suivante. Les autres sources mentionnent et l'acrotériasmos et l'anascolopismos, Zon. (346, 13) paraphrasant la deuxième peine: (Thomas) ἄλλοτε ἄλλαις τιμωρίαις ὑποβαλλόμενος ... Il est à noter qu'on peut lire dans quelques sources: ἀκρωτηριάσας αὐτοῦ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας, καὶ οὕτως ἀνασκολοπίσας (Georg. Mon. 797, 13-14; Leo Gramm. 212, 15-16; Georg. cont. 788, 18-19; Theod. Melit. 146, 18-19; Sym. sl. 92, 31 [H TAKO]); seulement Ps.-Sym. 621, 18: εἶτα καὶ ἀνασκολοπίσας.

43. V. ci-dessous p. 8/9, 9/10 et n. 27.

44. J.B. Bury, A History of the Eastern Roman Empire, London 1912, 89, n. 1.

45. V. le titre dans n. 1.

rial, comme beaucoup d'autres empereurs – et spécialement usurpateurs – avant lui. C'est recommandé aussi par le nom que Thomas donna à ses fils adoptés: Anastasius et Constantius – le nom du père comme du fils de Constantin le Grand. Il est à noter que Zonaras avait été évidemment de cet avis, car il formula dans son rapport: τυραννίδι ἐπιχειρήσας τήν τε κλῆσιν μετέθετο, Κωνσταντῖνον ἑαυτόν ὀνομάσας,[46] aucun mot que Thomas se fit passer pour Constantin, fils d'Irène. Pour ce fait il y a des références même au 9e et au 10e siècles.[47] Ce nom impérial de Thomas (Constantin) pouvaient aisément servir de prétendu base à Michel II pour son récit. C'était lui qui colporta que Thomas se prétendit Constantin VI, pour ainsi discriminer son rival,[48] le faire un imposteur. Et en outre il passa sous silence le couronnement de Thomas à Antioche qui donna à l'usurpateur une apparence de légalité, un couronnement, qui semble être affirmé même par la tradition antiochéenne.

Le prétendu long séjour de Thomas chez les Arabes, raconté dans la lettre de Michel II et par les sources qui la suivent, est peu croyable, d'autant plus qu'ils disent que Thomas se fit passer pour Constantin VI en 820/21, plus de vingt ans après qu'il fût venu chez les Arabes![49] Pour cela Michel le Syrien dans son premier récit, suivant la version de Michel II, explique ce long séjour avec le refus de Haroun; et dans son deuxième récit, le rencontre de cet «imposteur» avec le calife et sa prétention d'être d'origine impériale sont racontés en rapport l'un avec l'autre et pas après un long séjour de Thomas chez les Arabes.

Je passe sur le problème difficile des incursions arabes et de leur ordre qui ne peut être traité que par des arabistes et à qui Prof. Christides a consacré ses recherches récentes.[50]

46. Zon. 341, 7-8.

47. Déjà chez Georges le Moine semble apparaître cette version, quoique mêlée avec l'autre: Georg. Mon. 793, 12-13: Κωνσταντῖνον ἑαυτὸν μετονομάσας καὶ υἱὸν Εἰρήνης; le même mot pour le fils adopté: Κωνστάντιον μετονομάσας (Theoph. cont. 51, 22; Skyl. 30, 46), ce que confirme la signification neutre de ce mot. Theoph. cont. 55, 9-11 (après que Thomas ait été couronné) ἄριστον ὑπετόπασε ... τὴν κλῆσιν ἀλλάξασθαι καὶ υἱὸν εἰσποιήσασθαι ...; v. aussi n. 34.

48. Ainsi nous n'avons pas – à mon avis – besoin de recourir à la subtile argumentation de P. Speck, Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft 16 (1967) 88-90.

49. Mich. II 476, 12-16; Genes. 25, 60-62; Theoph. cont. 51, 7-14 (version de Michel II); Vita Sym. 232, 3-15. – Mais Georg. Mon. 793, 11-12 dit: (Thomas) πρὸς τὰ μέρη τῆς Συρίας ἀφίκετο Κωνσταντῖνον ἑαυτὸν μετονομάσας ..., v. aussi n. 46.

50. Par ex. V. Christides, The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs (ca. 824). A Turning Point in the Struggle between Byzantium and Islam, Athens 1984.

Il y a eu des relations avec les Arabes de plus ou moindre importance aussi dans des autres insurrections et usurpations. Et il y avait aussi dans ce temps-là simon un traité formel, du moins un accord, un intérêt commun de Mamoun et de Thomas de laisser tranquille l'un l'autre. Mais pour Thomas le secours militaire des Arabes n'aurait pas été une recomandation. D'une telle manière il n'aurait pas trouvé de soutien chez ses compatriotes, d'un soutien qui n'est pas nié par les sources byzantines et qui résulte indirectement de tous les récits. Le silence des sources arabes[51] proprement dites des activités de Thomas semble parler en faveur de ce que les Arabes n'étaient pas impliqués sérieusement dans les affaires de cet usurpateur.

Quoique les courtes notices des sources orientales n'offrent que peu de nouveau quant à Thomas et notre thème au sens propre, elles suscitent quand même l'une ou l'autre association et réflexion; et en outre elles semblent affirmer des faits locaux: la route arménienne, l'accord avec Mamoun et peut-être aussi le couronnement à Antioche. Enfin, en ce qui concerne les informations peu croyables, il faut tenir compte de ce qu'on puisse lire quelques-unes d'eux déjà chez les auteurs byzantins dont les sources orientales ne semblent parfois que les héritiers.

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51. Par ex. d'aṭ-Ṭabarī, v. Vasiliev (n. 1) 283; cf. aussi Christides (n. 50) 89.

Some remakrs on reflections of Byzantine Foreign Policy in the "Martyrdom" of Arethas and the "Acts" of Gregentius*

The account of the events concerning the persecution of the Christians in South Arabia transmitted by Procopius in his History of the Wars[1] seems to use the same sources with the Arabic and the Christian tradition, and in fact does not furnish any original information[2]. The historian of Justinian's time confuses the two Ethiopian expeditions[3] and stresses the intolerance of the Jewish King of the Himyarites as a motive for the Ethiopian invasion. However, he reveals that Justinian considered the Ethiopians as allies in his war concept against Persia and mobilized both Ethiopians and Himyarites in order to realiza his plans. Moreover, Procopius' narration explicity states that the Ethiopians should be used by

** The final form of this paper has been substantially modified due to observations by prof. V. Christides as well as precious remarks and amendments made by Dr. G. Fiaccadori. For their generous help and excellent advice, I would like to express my deepest gratitude.*

1. Procopius, *Bella* I 20, 1-13, ed. J. HAURY-[G. WIRTH] I (1921), p.

2. J. RYCKMANS, *La persécution des Chrétiens Himyarites au sixième siècle,* Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, I, Istanbul 1956, p. 6. See now P. MARRASSINI, "Note di Storia Etiopica", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente,* 2 (1979), pp. 179-186, 190-196; complete list of the sources and previous bibliography.

3. *Malalas,* for instance (CHSB, p. 433f.), and *Theophanes* (ed. De Boor, p. 223, 31ff.) brief shortly on an ethiopian-himyarite conflict, which should be obviously earlier than the famous one in Yûsuf's time, cf. A. DIHLE, *Umstrittene Daten, Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer,* Wissenschaftlich Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, 32, Köln-Opladen 1965, p. 55f. The information, especially in Theophanes' narration, is obscure and the names are confused, cf. E. Littmann, *Deutsche Aksum-Expedition,* I, Berlin 1913, pp. 51f. Both the above mentioned chronographers report on the conflict of Justin's time in different passages, i.e., p. 456 and pp. 244ff. respectively.

Justinian as trade partners in his attempt to break the Persian monopoly of the silk trade[4].

The protection of Christianity was aprevailing objective for the Empire's foreign policy. Nevertheless, its vigorous diplomatic activity served more practical purposes as well. This paper is based on some information of the "Martyrdom" of Arethas[5], the "Acts" of Gregentius[6] and parallel elements in other sources. I'll attempt to provide evidence, as much as possible, on the global concept of the Byzantine foreign policy and the extent of its intervention in the conflict between Ethiopians and Himyarites.

In Arethas' "Martyrdom" the author, discribing the preparations of Justin's expedition, fixes the geographic position of Himyar, precising the distances in regard to the neighbouring countries[7]. Apart from the relia-

4. Loc.cit., 9: "At that time, when Hellestheaeus was reigning over the Aethiopians, and Esimiphaeus over the Homeritae, the Emperor Justinian sent an ambassador, Julianus, demanding that both nations, on account of their community of religion, should make common cause with the Romans in the war against the Persians; for he purposed that the Aethiopians, by purchasing silk from India and selling it among the Romans, might themselves gain much money, while causing the Romans to profit in only one way, namely, that they be no longer compelled to pay over their money to their enemy... As for the Homeritae, it was desired that they should establish Caisus, the fugitive, as captain over the Maddeni, and with a great army of their own people and of the Maddene Saracens make an invasion into the land of the Persians" (trans. H.B. DEWING, I, loeb Classical Library, 48 London 1914, p. 193).

5. The Greek version of the *Martyrium Arethae:* ed. J.-F. BOISSONADE, *Anecdota Graeca,* V, Parisiis 1833, pp. 1-62; then, the text with a Latin trans. and commentary was publ. by E. CARPENTIER, in *AASS* Octobris X, Parisiis-Romae 1869, pp. 721-759. Another version is Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium S. Arethae,* in *P.G.* 115, II, coll. 1249-1290.

6. Passages of Gregentius' Life published A.A. VASILIEV, "The Life of St. Gregentius, Homerite Bishop", Vizantijnskij Vremennik 14 (1907, publ. 1909), pp. 23-67 (introd. text and trans. in Russian); S. Gregentii Episc. Tapharensis *Homeritarum Leges,* in *P.G.* 86, coll. 567-620, and S. Gregentii *Disputatio cum Herbano Judaeo, ibid.,* coll. 621-784.

7. Martyrium, I (2), ed. CARPENTIER, p. 722e: "Ἔστι δὲ ἡ χώρα τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν ἐκ νότου τοῦ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίους ὄντος καὶ λεγομένου Φοινικῶνος, ἀπέχουσα μονὰς τριάκοντα· ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ χώρα τοῦ Ὁμηρίτου ἔστι διαστήματος μονῶν εἰκοσιπέντε· οἰκουμένη καὶ κατοικουμένη, καὶ πεπληρωμένη, ὡς ἐπὶ Ῥωσαφᾶ. Ἡ δὲ Ἰνδικὴ χώρα, ὅθεν τὰ ἀρώματα καὶ τὸ πέπερι, καὶ ἡ μέταξις καὶ ὁ πολύτιμος μαργαρίτης ἐξέρχεται, ἀπέχει μονὰς τριάκοντα· ἡ δὲ Αἰθιοπία τοῦ Ὁμηρίτου, μονάς τριάκοντα· ἡ δὲ Ῥωμανία, ἐκ βοῤῥᾶ τῆς τοιαύτης χώρας, μίλια ἑξήκοντα· ὥστε διοδεύεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥωμαίων χώρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁμηρίτην διά θαλάσσης· ἀπὸ Ῥωμανίας ἐπὶ Αἰθιοπίαν, καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰθιοπίας ἐπὶ τὸν Ὁμηρίτην· ἔστι δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ θάλασσα ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμηρίτου ἐπὶ Ἰνδίαν, καὶ μέχρι Περσίδος". D. DIHLE, op. cit., p. 40, n. 41, discusses this data of the *Martyrium,* and observes that the geographic information about India in the introduction of the *Martyrium* itself is of remarkable exactitude.

bility and the exactness of these geographic data, the author seems to be conscious of the impact of the position that Himyar occupied on the trade of certain oriental products, such as perfumes, pepper, silk etc. Moreover, the narration shows a tension between Ethiopians and Himyarites which goes back long into the past[8] and is attributed to religious differences, as the nature of such a work demanded. The authro's observation in this context, that the King of Himyar was a tributary of the Ethiopians, is remarkable[9]; in addition, all the evidence on both the previous persecutions and the earlier Ethiopian expedition is highlighting the essence and the extent of the struggle between the two countries.

The hositilities in the sixth century are, in this sense, only a part of the troubles in the region[10]. The relations between Aksum and Yemen had not always been peaceful in the past. However, commercial relations were close between the two countries in peace, and it was this commerce of the Red Sea which attracted both Persians and Byzantines. The missionary activity of Theophilos to the Himyarites[11] is the earliest

8. Ibid., I (1), p. 722d: "ὥστε συνεχεῖς πολέμους γίγνεσθαι μεταξὺ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰθιόπων καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ὁμηριτῶν, ὑποφόρου ὄντος τῷ Αἰθιόπι". Four chapters in the *"Book of the Himyarites" (Fragments of a hitherto Unknown Syriac Work,* ed. with introd. and trans. A. MOBERG, Lund 1924), namely IV-VII, are dealing with the first Ethiopian expedition.

9. Loc.Cit.

10. Cf. A.A. VASILIEV, *Justin the First: An Introduction to the Epoch of Justinian the Great,* Cambridge (Mass. 1950), p. 298.

11. On Theophilos' mission, A. DIHLE, "Die Sendung des Inders Theophilos", in *Politeia und Res Publica dem Andenken R. Starks gewidmet,* hrsg. P. STEINMETZ, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 330-336. G. FIACCADORI discusses in detail the journey and the activities of Theophilos in his two recent articles, "Teofilo Indiano", I, "Le origini", *SCO* 33 (1983), pp. 295-331, and II, "Il viaggio", *SCO* 34 (1984), pp. 271-308. Constantius II devoted himself to foreign policy issues and sent various missions to the coastal peoples of the Red Sea with the intention of gaining to Arianism the Ethiopians and the Himyarites, and to secure the commercial interests of the Empire; cf. R. KLEIN, *Constantius II und die christiliche Kirche,* Darmstadt 1977, especially pp. 217-227, 238-250, P.A. BARCELO, *Roms auswärtige Beziehungen unter der Constantinischen Dynastie (306-363),* Eichstätter Beiträge 3 (Geschichte), Regensburg 1981, pp. 85-6, and H.H. CAJAS, *Las Relationes Internationales del Imperio Bizantino durante la epoca de las grandes invasiones,* Chile 1972, pp. 45-46. Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* III 4, ed. J. Bidez and F. Winkelmann, GCS, 56, Berlin 1972, pp. 32-35, attributes a great success to Theophilos' religious activity among the Himyarites. However, only a few Christian communities are attested in South Arabia before Yûsuf's persecution and the forced introduction of Christianity by Ethiopians: J. Beaucoup et CH. ROBIN, "Le Chrstianisme dans la péninsule Arabique, d'après l'épigraphie et l'archéologie, in *Hommage à M.P. Lemerle (= Travaux et Mémoires du centre de recherche d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance,* 8), Paris 1981, p. 46; see now G. FIACCADORI, "Yemen nestoriano", in *Studi in onore di E. Bresciani,* Pisa u.d. (1985), p. 195ff.

expression of Byzantine foreign policy's interest in the country. At the same time 'Êzânâ, the King of Aksum, claims in his title "to be sovereign over the Himyarites"[12], and this political control that the Abyssinians seemed to maintain over the South-Western Arabia was one of the causes of the long-standing conflict[13]. Since the Ethiopians were supported by Byzantium, their rivals, the Himyarites, became attached to the Persians[14], who used their influence over Yemen as a way to get commercial profits[15].

At the beginning of the sixth century, the Aksumite presence in the Himyarite state was even more strengthened, taking advantage of a period of internal turmoil in Yemen[16]. The Ethiopians ruled the country indirectly and maintained garrisons in key points of South Arabia. At the same time, in Yemen an anti-Aksumite and anti-Byzantine reaction broke out. Yûsuf As'ar, a Himyarite prince, generally known as Dhû

12. For istance, W. DITTENBERGER, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones selectae,* I, Leipzig 1903, pp. 298-303, 200: "'Αειζανᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἀξωμιτῶν κα(ὶ) Ὁμηριτῶν..." (p. 298); for 'Êzânâ's titles and the relevant attestations, see the useful list of A. CAQUOT et P. NAUTIN, in Journal des Savants, Oct-Déc. 1970, p. 274. According to Cosmas Indicopleustes *Top. Christ.* II 56, ed. Wolska-Conus, I, Sources Chrètiennes, 141, p. 369, the Ethiopian Negus, before starting his expedition to Yemen, sought for documents to justify by traditional rights the Ethiopian control over Himyar. In this context the "Monumental Adulitanum" (Dittenberger, No. 199; Cosmas Indicopl., II 60-63, p. 373-377) recalls an Ethiopian operation in the Red Sea, which obviously aimed to strike the piracy; 'Êzânâ was equally stimulated by commercial motives, cf. A.K. IRVINE, "Habashat", in *Encyclopédie de l'Islâm,* III, nouv. èd., Leyde-Paris 1971, p. 10; on the "Monumentum" see also J. DESANGES, *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique,* Rome 1978, p. 345 and n. 234, and A.F.L. BEESTON, "The Authorship of the Adulis Thone Text", *BSOAS,* 43 (1980), pp. 453-458, on which G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Roman Arabia,* Cambridge (Mass.)-London 1983, p. 48 and n. 11. A tribute was paid by the Christians of Yemen to the Ethiopian Negus before 518 a.D., and this fact constitutes the justification of the Ethiopian rights, cf. M.R. AL-ASSOUAD, "Dhû Nuwâs", in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam,* nouv. èd., II, Leyde-Paris 1965, p. 251.

13. A. VASILIEV, op. cit., p. 289.

14. Alliances and political preferences are determined in this region by religious factors. On the background of these choices and the relations they produced, cf. V. CHRISTIDES, "The Himyarite Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius" (ca. 530 a.D.), *Annales d'Éthiopie,* IX (1972), p. 119.

15. The Persians, as far back as the fourth century, attempted to balance the situation through their influence over Yemen and commercial cooperation with the Himyarites; cf. *N. Pigulewskaja, Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien,* Berlin 1969, p. 215, and more recently, FIACCADORI, "Yemen", cit., p. 196 and nn. 27-28 (p. 203).

16. J. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, *Christianity among the Arabs in Pre-Islamic Times,* London 1979, p. 296.

Nuwâs[17], displaced an usurper and came to the throne in 523 a.D., giving a new impulse to the nationalist movement[18].

"What have been a trivial squabble between two neighbouting semitic peoples had become a part of a world conflict", R. Browning remarks[19]; an aspect which appraises the extraordinary character of the events and calls for a thorough investigation of their position in the perspective of the Byzantine foreign policy. The Chrsitians' persecution and the war which resulted into Yûsuf's defeat and death brough only the controversy to its climax. These main mutual cruelties have been preceded by similar events in the past: direct warfare between the two belligerents, and indirect Byzantine and Persian interventions. The tableau is completed by the Ethiopian occupation of South Arabia and its final subjection to the Persians. In order to acquire evidence of byzantine policy in the Red Sea area and evaluate exactly all the factors entagled, either religion and cultural influence or trade and financial interests[20], it is necessary to examine the events, concerning the struggle between Ethiopians and Himyarites, in a longer period.

17. The information of all the sources about Dhû Nuwâs are collected in the above mentioned article of the Encyclopédie de l'Islâm (footnote 12), which outlines the personality and the activities of the Himyarite King. I SHAHÎD refers many times to Yûsuf's operations in South Arabia against the Ethiopians and treats in detail the views of the sources concerning the King in *The Martyrs of Najrân, New Documents,* Subsidia Hagiographica, 49, Bruxelles 1971, pp. 260-269. The "Book of the Himyarites" mentions the name Masrûq: chap. VII, p.cv.; chap. VIII, p.cv. ff.; and passim. On the variations of the name see also TH. NÖLDEKE, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden,* Leyden 1879 (Nachdr. Graz 1973), p. 174, n. 3.

18. SPENCER TRIMINGHAM, op.cit., p. 297.

19. R. BROWNING, *Justinian and Theodora,* London 1971, p. 51.

20. I. SHAHÎD frequently calls Kaleb's expedition "a crusade" (cf. "Byzantium in South Arabia", *DOP* 33, 1979, pp. 27, 33, 36, etc.); indeed, religious motives are stressed, above all, by Christian sources. However, for a generally well-balanced evaluation it is necessary to take into account spurious parallel information, even if it does not always represent the prominent aspect. In this sense, we must not fail to keep in mind that Yûsuf's plans aimed to get advantages from the struggle between Byzantium and Persia and he was turned against Christianity also for political reasons; cf. B. RUBIN, *Das Zeitalter Justinians,* I, Berlin 1969, p. 309: "Diese Oase war die erste Etappe eines Marsches nach dem Norden, ihre Verbindungen mit Abessinien, Syrien, dem Lahmidenstaat und Mesopotamien stellten eine gewisse Gefahr für jeden Gegner des durch und durch mit dem politischen Programm des römischen Weltreichs infizierten Christentums dar. Gegen Nagran richteten sich nach dem Siege die Massnahmen Yusufs, durch die er die christliche Welt gegen sich empören sollte. Für einen Augenblick trat Süd-arabien in den Mitterpunkt des Weltinteresses". On the diplomatic background of the rivalries cf. G.L. HUXLEY, On the Greek martyrium of the Nagranites, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy,* Section C, vol. 80, C, No. 3, Dublin 1980, pp. 41-55, especially pp. 49, 54f., and passim.

The narration in the "Martyrium Arethae" states that "continous wars were conducted between the Ethiopian King and the King of the Himyarites"[21]. In this connection W. Caskel remarks that the necessary attention has not been attached to the presence of the Ethiopian King at least in one earlier expedition[22]. Those previous operations and the long-standing hostilities have been accompanied by persecutions as well[23]. Among these rather non important incidents, Yûsuf's rebellion[24] provoked an Ethiopian expedition and na invasion of Yemen which evidently was carried out in 522[25]. The notice in the "Martyrdom" of Arethas that a byzantine fleet has supported the second ethiopian expedition in 525[26] could suggest a similar assistance for the first operation as well[27].

The description of the first expedition and the relevant iformation conveyed by Pseudo-Dionysius[28] and the "Book of Himyarites"[29] lead to derive among others the following two conclusions:

(a) Both invasions have taken place within the life of one and the same Negus; in other words, they have been conducted by one and the same King.

(b) The commercial interests of the Ethiopians appear in the background of this expedition as an essential factor.

Both these observations are adequantely stressed by I. Shahîd[30]. In addition, I would like to admit that they are of a considerable importance in order to evaluate the events in the framework of a study of Byzantine foreign policy. There is no doubt that the dominant persons in that struggle were two local rulers. The Ethiopian was fighting a rebel so as to safeguard his sovereignity over Himyar and to protect his country's trade from the himyarite antagonism. On the other hand, Yûsuf's leadership

21. *Supra,* footnote 8. Cf. Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium,* cit., col. 1250 "ὡς καὶ πολλάκις αὐτῷ συμβαλόντα τὸν εὐσεβῆ βασιλέα, τρέψασθαί τε αὐτὸν ἀνὰ κράτος καὶ φόρους ἀναγκάσαι τελεῖν".

22. W. CASKEL, *Entedeckungen in Arabien,* Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen, Geisteswissenschaften, 30, Köln-Opladen 1954, p. 24, n. 95.

23. I. SHAHÎD, *Martyrs,* cit., p. 7.

24. Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium,* cit., col. 1250 "εἶθ' οὕτως ἐκεῖνον μὲν τὰς συνθήκας ἠθετηκότα ἀντεξαναστῆναι τοῦ βασιλέως Ἐλεσβάαν".

25. Cf. RUBIN, op. cit., p. 307.

26. *Martyrium,* VII (29), p. 747a.

27. Cf. CASKEL, op. cit., p. 25, and RUBIN, op. cit., p. 307.

28. Incerti auctoris *Chronicon anonymum pseudo-Dionysianum,* ed. J.B. CHABOT, accedunt Johannis Ephesini *Fragmenta* Curante E.W. BROOKS, CSCO 104 (1933).

29. Chap. IV ff.

30. *Martyrs,* cit., pp. 254-255.

was extremely qualified. He was trying to strengthen the position of Yemen, and in his attempt he had been engaged in a nationalist course[31]. These circumstances provided the necessary conditions for the revival of the conflict, which first and foremost was inflamed by regional factors.

After the first departure of the Abyssinians, garrisons were established in some key-points of South-Western Arabia to exert control over the country. Those soldiers were the immediate victims of Jusuf's attack, "the Christians the Ethiopian King had left in the country", as he states[32]. Priests and nobility, preferably foreigners, were persecuted with particular severity in this anti-Christian operation[33]; the violations already conducted are the means used by Jusuf as argument before the sieged Najrân, in order to frighten the inhabitants and break their resistence, in order to regain rule over the town and after all to collect fiscal benefits[34].

After the departure of the Ethiopians, the defeated Jewish King of Himyar launched a counter-attack. Among the sieged and occupied towns, Zafâr and Najrân have a prominent place. In the negotiations which the King resumed with the inhabitants of those towns, he was assisted by Jewish priests, acting as mediators and messengers, as well as by Nestorians[35]. The citizens of Najrân were threatened with the ruin of their town for their rebellions and the notables among them were demanded "silver and gold" to mitigate the terms of surrender[36].

31. RUBIN, op. cit., p. 306 f., praises Yûsuf's qualities, especially on the basis of inscriptions and other materials, balancing the negative profile of a tyrant that the Christian sources have drawn for the King.

32. *Martyrium* I (3), pp. 722f-723a "τοὺς ἐαθέντας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἐν τῇ πόλει".

33. *Martyrium,* I (2), p. 722d-e: "Καὶ διωγμὸν ἀπάνθρωπον ἔστησεν κατὰ πάντων τῶν σεβομένων τό ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, κἄν Ἕλληνες ἦσαν, κἄν Πέρσαι, κἄν Ῥωμαῖοι, κἄν Αἰθίοπες"; cf. II (6), pp. 728 ff. The social features of the persecution will be discussed further on. South Arabia was generally a zone of continuous and intense activity for missionary and political agents, cf. RUBIN, op. cit., p. 310 "die gesamte südarabische Welt hatte sich für Missionäre und politische Agenten in eine Hölle werwandelt".

34. Ibid., I (4), p. 723b: "Οὐ βλάψω τινά τῶν τῆς πόλεως, οὐδὲ ἀναγκάσω βλασφημῆσαι εἰς τὴν σεβομένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν θρησκείαν, ἀλλὰ μόνον ὑποσπόνδους γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἀνοῖξαι τὴν πόλιν, καὶ εἰσελθεῖν ἱστορίας χάριν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι αὐτὸν ὅπερ ἐποφείλεται αὐτῷ, ἐκείνου καὶ μόνου τοῦ ἔτους, τοῦ ἐξ ἔθους διδομένου ἐπὶ κεφαλαίου ὑπὲρ ἑκάστης ψυχῆς οἰκούσης ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἀπὸ ἑλκάδος μιᾶς".

35. Cf. *The Book of the Himyarites,* cit., chap. VII, p. CV, with reference to "the Jewish priests who were from Tiberias" and some others, among whom a man from Hîrtâ dh^{e} Nu^{e}mân, and "these were Christians in name". On such Nestorians, see FIACCADORI, Yemen, cit., p. 196 and nn. 22-26 (p. 202 f.).

36. Ibid., p. CVIII.

There is no doubt that the leading classes of the population were slaughtered in great numbers in that persecution[37]. However, all the similar information transmitted by Christian sources must be estimated upon the obvious reservation that this kind of sources is exaggerating the importance of the events, and the hagiographic works are inclined to put overemphasis on the social status of the victims as proof of the dimensions and the cruelty of the persecution. Men and women, reported by names and assigned by the attributes of their own rank, are significant not only as prominent victims but also as a mark of foreign, i.e., Ethiopian and Byzantine influence[38]. Yûsuf's accusation to the Najrânites, that they have revolted against his rule, explicity addressed to their leader Hârith[39], must be carefully considered, in relation to the foreign presence in the town. Both these facts make apparent that Najrân was an important commercial centre, a crossroads of trade routes from which the neighbouring countries wanted to extract benefits. The King of Yemen, sovereign over the area, struggled for his fiscal revenues and the subjection of the town[40].

After the capitulation of Najrân, Yûsuf intended to increase the persecution in cooperation with the Lakhmid rulers, the Arabs of North-East, and the Persians. The realization of this diplomatic project, through letters addressed to al-Mundhir[41] and the Persian King, dates back to 523

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37. The "Book" often mentions exclusively the notables of the country, who suffered and were massacred in this persecution, cf. above all the case of Ruhm, the daughter of Azma', which is described in detail in chap. XXII, p. CXXII ff. This noble woman, one of the Martyrs in that persecution, is reported even as a benefactor of the royal family, ibid. p. XCCCIII. Similar cases are transmitted by other Christian sources too. Cf. a woman addressed as "ἔντιμος καὶ συγκλητικὴ" by the King in *Martyrium* III (10), p. 731c, and the other one reported as "πιστευομένη φέρειν τὰ πρωτεῖα γένει καὶ πλούτῳ" in Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium*, col. 1261.

38. A multinational foreign presence is stressed in a significant passage of the *Book*, p. CIX. The King learned that among the inhabitants of Najrân there were: two presbyters from Ḥîrah; two Romans, a presbyter and a deacon; a Persian presbyter; and a deacon from Abyssinia.

39. Cf. *supra*, n. 31: *Martrium* IV (15), p. 734f: "Σὺ, λέγω, Ἀρέθα μιαρώτατε καὶ παλαιότατε ἡμερῶν κακῶν, διατὶ οὐκ ἐμιμήσω τὸν πατέρα σου, τὸν ἄρξαντα τῆς πόλεως καὶ πάσης τῆς περιχώρου, ὅς ἔντιμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ βασιλέων, ἀλλ' ἐβουλήθης τυραννῆσαι καὶ μοναρχῆσαι Νεγρὰν τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν ταύτης περιοικίδα"; Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium,* col. 1268: "οὐδὲ τὸν σὸν ἐμιμήσω πατέρα τὸν ἄρξαντα πρὸ σοῦ τῆς Νεγρὰν, ὅπως ἐφάνη τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν βασιλεῦσι μάλα πειθήνιος".

40. Cf. PIGULEWSKAJA, op. cit., p. 232.

41. Yûsuf's relations with the Lakhmid ruler is made clearer by the reference of Simeon's "Letter" to al-Mundhir. Cf. SHAHÎD, *Martyrs,* p. 268: "Mundir and Yûsuf were friends who in the political alignments of the period belonged to the same political camp".

a.D.[42].

The information that Yûsuf advised the Persian King to eradicate the Christians from his territory is quoted in both the Arethas "Martyrdom" and the "Life" of Gregentius[43]. A similar suggestion was addressed to the Arabs of Hira, as a number of the Christian sources report[44]. The fact that Arabs and Persians were cooperating with the Jews of Himyar in an anti-Christian front is significant for the anti-Byzantine reaction in the area as well[45].

Yûsuf's promise to al-Mundhir for a remuneration of "three hundred golden dinars"[46], in order to extinguish the Crhsitians in the Lakhmid kingdom, is an information of immense importance. Religious fanaticism is not enough as an answer for the real plans underlying such a promise of pecuniary reward. Since money were used to facilitate and extend the persecution of the Crhistians, there is no doubt that Yûsuf intended at the same time to support the Jews and their commercial activities by his plans[47].

At the end of 523 Justin sent an embassy to al-Mundhir in his capital, al-Ḥirâh to negotiate peace with him[48]. The historian Nonnosus, son of Abraham, who later, at Justinian's time, acted with a similar diplomatic capacity in the region, left a report on the embassy of 523[49]. Justin's ambassador met al-Mundhir in his camp at Ramlah, and on his return to

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42. RYCKMANS, op. cit., p. 6.

43. *Martyrium,* VI (25), p. 742d: "Γράφει οὖν ὁ προλεχθεὶς δεύτερος Φαραὼ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Περσῶν, αἰτούμενος αὐτὸν πάντας τοὺς αὐτόθι χριστιανοὺς ἀποκτεῖναι, καθ' ὃν τρόπον καὶ αὐτὸς πεποίηκεν· ἐπὶ τούτῳ εἰπὼν ἔχειν τὸ πλεῖον εὐμενῆ τὸν πατέρα τοῦ Ἡλίου· ὃν ἔφασκεν θεὸν εἶναι τῶν Ἑβραίων. Ἔτι τε καὶ πρὸς Ἀλαμούνδαρον, τὸν βασιλίσκον πάντων τῶν ὑπὸ Πέρσας Σαρακηνῶν, ἀποστέλλει πρέσβεις". *Vita Gregentii,* in VASILIEV, op. cit., p. 60 "γράψας καὶ τῷ τῶν Περσῶν Βασιλεῖ".

44. *Martyrium* VI (25), p. 742d, Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium,* col. 1277; MOBERG, *The Book of the Himyarites,* 5a, p. CIII; I. GUIDI, "La lettera de Simeone vescovo de Bêth-Arsâm sopra i martiri omeriti", *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Memorie della Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche,* 5 III, 7 (1881), p. 482; *Vita Gregentii,* p. 60: "γράψας καὶ ταῖς περὶ κύκλῳ αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαις" (generally).

45. "Die südarabischen Städte hatten Beziehungen zum Hirta des Nu'mân, dem Staat der Lahmiden, der unter dem Protektorat des Iran stand" Pigulewskaja, op. cit., p. 237.

46. *Martyrium* VI (25), p. 742d: "ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ὁλκὴν δηναρίων τρισχιλίων διδόναι".

47. Cf. PIGULEWSKAJA, op. cit., p. 221, RUBIN, op. cit., p. 310. On Yûsuf's plans see also CASKEL, op. cit., p. 26.

48. Cf. VASILIEV, *Justin,* cit., p. 279.

49. *FHG* IV 179 ff.

Constantinople Abraham reported to the Emperor what had happened in Najrân[50].

Since then, the Christian sources, which bear witness to the second Ethiopian invasion, especially the "Martyrdom" of Arethas, in its two "versions"[51], and the "Life" of Gregentius[52], transmit extensive reports concerning the procedure of the Byzantine involvement in the operations. Both the Emperor and the Patriarch of Alexandria[53] are shown to take the initiative in order to persuade the Ethiopian Negus to undertake a religious expedition, in the way of a reprisal[54]. The Christian authors dramatize the religious devotion of the Emperor, and "Justin's tears"[55], as well as his "flagrant anger"[56] lend the Christian tone to the narrations.

Nevertheless, under this overwhelming Christian propaganda a remark is conveyed in Justin's letter transmitted by the "Martyrdom" of Arethas which could illuminate Justin's thoughts. The Emperor lays special emphasis on Yûsuf's alignment and cooperation with the Persians and the Arabs of Ḥîrah[57]. The Byzantine-Ethiopian cooperation is consolidated on a basis of common interests which perhaps overrun religious differences, and are lasting longer than temporary common missionary fanaticism.

The active participation of the monophisite patriarch of Alexandria in

50. VASILIEV, op. cit., p. 293 and R. HELM, "Untersuchungen über den auswärtigen diplomatischen Verkehr des römischen Reiches im Zeitalter der Spätantike", *Archiv für Urkunderforschung,* 12 (1932), p. 432; I. SHAHÎD, "Byzantino-Arabica: The Conference of Ramla, A.D. 524", *Journal of Near East St.,* 23 (1964), pp. 115-131, and *Martyrs,* cit., pp. 209, 213, 240 ff.

51. *Martyrium* VI (27 ff), pp. 743, 747 ff, and Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium,* col. 1280f.

52. *Vita Gregentii,* p. 60f.

53. The sources are giving three different names to the Patriarch, i.e., the "Life" calls him Προτέριος, the "Martyrium" Τιμόθεος and Symeon Metaphrastis Ἀστέριος. G. FIACCADORI, discusses the problem of these variations of the Patriarch's name in his article "Proterio, Asterio e Timoteo Patriarchi. Note di storiografia alessandrina", *Egitto e Vicino Oriente,* 3 (1980), pp. 399-315.

54. The Christian sources often justify the ethiopian violations in South Arabia as retaliations for Yûsuf's persecution. For this series of atrocities B. RUBIN's remark is proper: "Repressalien zogen Repressalien nach sich, und das Ergebnis war eine immer neue Verschärfung der historischen Feindschaft zwischen Axum und Himyar" (op. cit., p. 306). The victims, which Yûsuf's triumphal inscriptions are reporting (CASKEL, op. cit., p. 22), correspond to the freightened Jews which were converted by force after the Ethiopian invasion (cf. *Vita Gregentii,* p. 61, *Leges* col. 576a, 590a-b).

55. *Martyrium* VI (31), p. 748e "τὰ δάκρυα Ἰουστίνου".

56. *Vita,* p. 60: "μετ' ἐμπύρου ἐπείξεως".

57. *Martyrium* VI (27), p. 743e.

the preparations of the Ethiopian invasion of 525, as well as his intervention in the ecclesiastic life of Yemen in a later phase[58] is not unrelated to the question of the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Alexandria over Aksum[59].

The role of the Nestorians in the competition between Ethiopians and Himyarites, that is between Monophisites and Jews, is a substantial factor, reflected in our sources, especially in the "Book of the Himyarites"[60]. The adherents of this sect were not only decisive for the formation of alliances and fronts in that region, but their presence is also essential for the correct interpretation of the literary sources[61].

The Ethiopian expedition succeeded to overthrow and kill Dhû Nuwâs and the troops of Aksum established a new situation in South Arabia favourable to the Ethiopian dominators. Sum(u)yafa''Ashwa', the new ruler of Yemen, supported by the Ethiopians and mentioned in Procopius' report[62], is given in an inscription the royal title "Governor on behalf of the Negus"[63]. W. Caskel comments on the above inscription in extenso and collects the information about the life, the activities and the regime of Sum(u)yafa''Ashwa'[64]. Sum(u)yafa''Ashwa' had been given the title of "brother of the King", when Dhû Nuwâs came to the throne. After a clash with the King, he flew to the Abyssinians, and was converted to Christianity; after the ethiopian invasion and the death of Yûsuf, he was appointed by the Negus as tributary King ruling over Yemen.

The existence and the role of the King Sum(u)yafa''Ashwa' are omitted in the Christian sources. Inscriptions[65] and Procopius[66] are providing

58. *Vita,* p. 61f. Cf. CHRISTIDES, op. cit., passim and I. SHAHÎD, *Byzantium in South Arabia,* cit., passim.

59. CHRISTIDES, pp. 124-25.

60. Supra, n. 35.

61. Cf. J.W. HIRSCHBERG, "Nestorian Sources of North-Arabian Traditions on the Establishment and Persecution of Christianity in Yemen", *Rocznik Orientalistyczny,* 15 (1939-49), p. 333 f.: "The Arab authors were not influenced by the Monophysites, whose writings are full of hostility and hatred towards the Jews. This fact warrants the assumption that they were influenced by the Nestorians, who unlike the Monophysites... were a national sect not particularly hostile to the Jews. This is confirmed by the objective account of Masruk's persecutions in the history of the Nestorians". Cf. FIACCADORI, loc. cit. (supra, n. 35).

62. The arab tradition calls him Aryât; Procopius gives the name "Ἐσιμ(ι)φαῖος" (loc.cit., 20, 1; 3; 9 ff.).

63. Cf. RYCKMANS, p. 17 ff.

64. Op. cit., p. 17 ff.

65. RYCKMANS, ibid. pp. 7f, 19f; CASKEL, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

66. Supra, n. 4.

evidence on his reign over Himyar, which must have lasted until 530[67]. This King received in 527[68] Justinian's embassy, which was visiting Yemen with the task to derive from this area political and diplomatic advantages parallel to the commercial ones: against Persia and the Great King, Kawâdh[69].

The "Martyrdom" of Arethas and the "Corpus Gregentianum" are conveying details and variations on the appointment of Abraha and the role of the Christian Ethiopian King and the Bishop Gregentius in this designation[70]. Abraha's election is described in these sources in the form the christian theory demanded, and his rule is founded on the basis of God's designation. However, we have to point out that the circumstances of Abraha's appointment are confused in the Greek Christian sources and the appointment they are qualifying by those elements is rather a typical case for the designation of a Christian ruler.

Abraha, as a champion of the himyarite independence, rebelled against Sum(u)yafa', the representative of the Ethiopian control; for a time, he was sovereign, becoming tributary to the Ethiopians after Sum(u)yafa''death[71]. Inscriptions and coins bear valuable witness on Abraha's royal status[72], and his royal title is quite remarkable[73]. For the

67. RUBIN, op. cit., p. 313.

68. Cf. HELM., op. cit., p. 391; PIGULEWSKAJA, op. cit., p. 324.

69. RUBIN, loc. cit.

70. Cf. LEGES, coll. 569, 64B, and 572, 66A; *Martyrium,* IX (38), p. 758; Symeonis Metaphrastae *Martyrium,* col. 1289, *Vita Gregentii,* p. 66.

71. RYCKMANS, op. cit., pp. 6, 11.

72. Cf. G. SCHLUMBERGER, "Monnaies inédites des Éthiopiens et des Homérites", *Révue Numismatique,* III 4 (1836), pp. 356-371.

73. Cf. A.J. DREWES, *Inscriptions de l'Éthiopie antique,* Leiden 1962, pp. 108-111: "Abraha portait-il un titre Ethiopien?". The author contests Glaser's opinion, who considered Abraha as representative of the Ethiopian power and interpreted his title in the inscriptions "(Abraha) gouverneur du roi éthiopien Ramhis Zubayman", and proposes an alternative reading of the inscriptions themselves; but see now M. ROBINSON, in *Annuaire éc. Prat. Hautes Études, IVe sect., 1965/66, p. 12 ff. E. CHRYSOS, "The Title ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ in Early Byzantine International Relations, DOP,* 32 (1978), p. 42 ff, deals with the royal title of the Abyssinian King and the titles of his vassals ("Sub"-Kings). He argues that the title Βασιλεὺς "was not used officially by the imperial chancery". However with reference to the "imperial" title of the Abyssians the legend of the coins presented by Schlumberger (op. cit., supra, n. 72) is significant. Additionally, I have to point out that the use of the royal titles in Ethiopia is not touched upon in detail here. Coins and inscriptions rise a number of questions giving at the same time valuable information of the Byzantine influence on the official language and the diplomatic correspondence. Some hints which appear here, are only indications about matters which must be seriously considered. In addition, as initial bibliography, concerning coins, could be suggested A. ANZANI, "Numismatica-axumita", *Rivista*

balance of power in South Arabia Abraha played a weighty part. Both Romans and Persians tried to gain him to their cause. In 540 he received both Persian and Byzantine delegations, accompanied by their vassals[74]. In the Byzantine-Persian war of 540-546 Abraha favoured the Byzantines[75].

It is indisputable that even the information transmitted by the hagiographic sources could be valuable for the illumination of different periods of history. In particular, the Greek religious sources are precious documents for studying the events from the point of view Byzantine Empire and its foreign policy. If those sources can be confirmed and cross-checked in the light of parallel information or various literary works, we can achieve a notable point of certitude. Thus, I would like to stress, not for the first time of course, the special perspectives the Greek sources are giving, and the inherent difficulties for their appraisal.

Notwithstanding the above general reservations, we must bear in mind that those sources are supplying information close to the events[76]. The Greek ones are sometimes copying previous original oriental documents thus, preserving information embellished by means of elements adapted to their aims, that is to emphasize the Byzantine contribution and to celebrate the role of the Empire's Christian mission[77]. Therefore details repeatedly exposed, for instance, in the "Martyrdom" are missing in Arab or Syriac sources[78]. In the first line of the "Martyrdom" the narration is dated to Justin's reign[79], the account of the events records the religious zeal of the Ethiopians and their Christian king in an operation which has been conducted in cooperation and upon the initiative of the Emperor, who is the principal figure.

Italiana di Numismatica, 19, s. III 3 (1926), pp. 5-110, and *C. Conti Rossini,* "Monete aksumite", *Africa Italiana,* 1 (1927), pp. 179-212. Especially concerning the Roman-Ethiopian commercial relations, an evaluation of the relevant information, based also on coins, is presented by S. HABLE-SELASSIE, *Beziehungen Äthiopiens zur griechisch-römischen Welt,* Bonn 1963, especially p. 62 ff.

74. RUBIN, op. cit., p. 316.

75. CASKEL, op. cit., p. 30.

76. On the date of the "Martyrdom" and the "Life" PIGULEWSKAJA, op. cit., pp. 196, 210; FIACCADORI, "Proterio", cit., pp. 300 n. 15 (p. 307), 304f. and n. 79 (p. 314).

77. The "Martyrdom" of Arethas is admittedly based on an oriental (Syriac) original. Cf. DIHLE, *Umstrittene Daten,* op. cit., p. 41, and P. PEETERS, *Le Théofonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine,* Subsidia Hagiographica, 26 Bruxelles 1950, p. 88.

78. H.G. BECK notably calls the "Martyrdom" of Arethas "ein stück politischer Hagiographie": "Christliche Mission und Politische Propaganda im byzantinischen Reich", *Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto Medioevo,* XIV, Spoleto 1967 p. 664; he also assumes that the composition of the Martyrium might be caused by Justin's envoy Abraham, ibid., 663.

79. I (1), p. 721c: "Ἔτους πέμπτου τῆς βασιλείας Ἰουστίνου".

Both, the "Martyrdom" and Gregentius' "Life", must have been composed in a Byzantine milieu, which was familiar with the objectives of the Empire's foreign and religious policy; in a sense, both those works are instruments designed to advertize and to popularize those policies[80]. The other two works attributed to Gregentius, i.e., the "Leges" and the "Disputatio", which seem to be pseudepigrapha, bear nevertheless valuable "witness" of the social and economic situation in sixth century South Arabia. Moreover, the above two, composed in christian environment as well, are revealing the Byzantine attitude towards the Jews of South Arabia and the attempt of the Empire to penetrate the region and influence Yemen[81]. Syriac sources such as the "Book of the Himyarites" and the "Letters" of Simeon are contemporary documents distinguished from the Greek sources as a group defined by different features[82]. The correlation between those sources and the Nestorian hagiographic material is an attractive problem, which goes beyond the scope of this paper. I just cannot fail to notice that the "Book" is silent about Byzantium's intervention in the war[83]. Finally, in this brief evaluation of the importance of the different groups of sources on the formation of the Byzantine point of view, we have to add the witness of Arab authors, especially al-Tabarî to the events[84].

In the period of the Early Christian Empire, the era of Constantine the Great and his successors is generally drawing a positive balance in the field of foreign policy. Constantius II, above all, concentrated his efforts in the peaceful solution of the foreign policy's issues, sometimes even during the operations against Persia and the difficulties on the Persian front[85]. In this context, his intervention in Abyssinia and Yemen is not only the result of his religious zeal in favour or Arianism and the will to propagate the new doctrine. Constantius' foreign policy in the area of the Red Sea is the fine display of the effort to balance the Empire's incluence towards the Persian competition by political means; at the same time, commercial interests attached to the trade of the Red Sea were in a skilful way satisfied[86].

Once again under Justin and Justinian a vigorous missionary activity is attested in the area and the trade in the Red sea becomes a priority for Byzantine foreign policy[87]. The imperial plans for the reestablishment of the Roman Empire, are not carried out only by wars, mainly against Persia, but also by elaborating more subtle methods of intervention, even on other remote fronts. In South Arabia Yûsuf's intentions were contesting the byzantine influence, and at the same time were fitting for the commercial interests of the Jews and Persia's political plans. This struggle is reflected in the Christian sources and the Greek ones are demonstrating, at the surface, the Byzantine aspect. The Byzantine influence on South Arabia was effective, and the religious intervention successful. The social life, especially in the upper classes[88], was affected, by Ethiopian and Byzantine elements, and this growing foreign influence was a controversial factor, for it was viewed as a provocation by the dominating and antagonistic local Jewish population. In the study of Byzantine foreign policy, the intentions reflected in the "Laws" of Gregentius, even if the work is only fiction, give an impressive aspect. Byzantine legal norms were thought to be an effective method to secure influence over a newly converted, even if by force ex-Jewish community.

Shortly after Justinian's death, the Persian occupation eliminated the Byzantine presence from South Arabia. Byzantium had invested in the region mainly diplomatic and missionary activity. In fact, this remote area, has not been continuously considered as a priority task by the Empire's foreign policy planners. While the eye glanced incidentally over the Red Sea the heart was always troubled by more serious affairs.

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80. Cf. PIGULEWSKAJA, op. cit., p. 198.
81. Ibid., p. 199 f.
82. SHAHÎD, *Martyrs,* p. 113.
83. HIRSCHBERG, op. cit., p. 336.
84. NÖLDEKE, op. cit., p. 188 f.
85. Cf. BARCELO, op. cit., pp. 106-107.
86. The mission to Aksum is involved in the trade of the Red Sea and the missionary Frumentios was a native of Tyros, cf. DIHLE, *Umstrittene Daten,* cit., p. 59.

87. Cf. A. H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire,* 284-602: A Social Economic and Administrative Survey, vol. III, Oxford 1964, especially II, Chapter XXI, Industry trade and transport, 824 ff. M. RASCHKE, New Studies in Roman Commerce with the East, in *ANRW,* 9, 2 (1978), pp. 678, 1068; and W. HEYD, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen-Age,* vol. II, Leipzig 1985/86 (repr. Amsterdam 1967), I, pp. 9-12.
88. The Greek sources, for instance, are clearly reflecting the Byzantine tradition in the description of Abraha's appointment and coronation *(Vita Gregentii,* p. 66). Moreover, the Greek terminology, such as the terms συγκλητικὸς, ἐθνάρχης etc., could derive information about the byzantine influence in the social life of South Arabia. Cf. V. CHRISTIDES, op. cit., pp. 129-130, and PIGULEWSKAJA, op. cit., especially pp. 197-220, providing an extensive analysis of the contents "der Gesetze der Himyariten".

A Code of Navigation on the Nile in Greco-Roman Egypt

The question of transportation and navigation on the Nile is a very important and complex subject; it lies at the core of the State economy. It is not surprising therefore, that it has repeatedly engaged the attention of scholars interested in the adiministration, law and economy Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt[1]. This paper however, deals with a specific and minor aspect of the major subject; it is an attempt to collect evidence on the rules that regulated river traffic. As a body of such rules and regulations or a code controling navigation on the Nile, has not – as yet – appeared among our extant documents, evidence of its existence can only be surmised in occasional royal ordinances as well as in freight contracts. The rules and regulations we shall look for, deal with three main aspects of the process of navigation: security on the route, safety of the goods transported and safeguarding the interests of the State.

Our earliest and most important document, goes back to the reign of Philadelphus. It is to be found in P. Hibeh 198 which contains a collection of royal ordinances on a variety of topics, issued by Philadelphus and Euergetes I.

The diagrammata that concern us, date from the years 278 and 270 B.C. They have a bearing on the three aspects referred to above. Rostovtzeff on more than one occasion dealt with the troublesome period in the second and first centuries B.C. and he showed how the Ptolemaic

1. M. Rostovtzeff, 'Πλοῖα θαλάσσια' On The Nile (in Etudes Andreades, Athens, 1940, pp. 367 ff.); Soc. Ec. Hist. Hell. World, pp.715-16, 720-21, 909 and notes; Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt, pp. 335-8; Introduction to the Law of the Papyri (in Archives d'Histoire de Droits Oriental – Revue internationale des droits de l'Antiquité, i, 1952, pp. 344-5); M.T. Lenger, in Aegyptus, 31, 1951, p. 25; Chron. d'Egypte, 1944, p. 127; Cl. Préaux l'Economie royale des Lagides, 1939, pp. 344-53; A.C. Johnson, Roman Egypt, p. 413; Holwein, le blé d'Egypt, in Etudes de papyrus III-IV-Chap-VI, pp. 103-15; Kunkel, in Archiv, VIII, pp. 212ff.; Modrzejewski, J.J.P. V, p. 190.

administration of the time set up a river police force to ensure security and to safeguard navigation on the Nile. This special police force seems to have been composed of different units which appear in our sources under the terms of 'river guards' (ποταμοφύλακες), 'boat armed men' (ναυκληρομάχιμοι) and 'armed escort verssels' (πλοῖα θαλάσσια). With his usual acumen, Rostovtzeff assumed that these arrangements were of long standing and not merely temporary measures taken in response to the troubled conditions of the second century B.C.[2] P. Hibeh 198, which was published after Rostovzeff's work, lends full support to his assumption for at least the third century B.C. A badly mutilated passage in it (11. 125-137) seems to provide a list of guard posts (φυλακαί) strung along a stretch of the Nile in Middle Egypt. The principal sites are Memphites, [Aphrodi]tespolis, Kunopolis and Hermopolis.

First and foremost among the duties of the river police force enumerated in the Hibeh papyrus is that: 'brigands and other malefactors as well as (runaway) royal sailors are to be arrested. Whoever obstructs (the police) or ... is to be liable to the same fines as the brigand or the deserter from his ship'[3]. A number of other decrees provide more details with regard to the duties of the river police force. All acts of complicity and sheltering of deserters, brigands and withholders of stolen goods are to be severely punished (11.96 and 100-105). Accomplices and shelterers are likewise liable to the same fines. Policemen, apprehended in failing to perform their duty of delivering a deserter, are themselves relegated to the King's ships to serve there with slaves, convicts and prisoners of war (11. 90-1).

These rulings are evidence enough that without an adequate river police force, navigation on the Nile could face many hazards of piracy and brigandage. In order to ensure the safety of both ships and their cargo, certain rules were imposed. Lines 110-122 of the same document, preserve a diagramma which requires that persons sailing on the river should comply with the following regulations:

a. To moor before [night?] in the appointed places. (112, ἐν τοῖς ἀποδεδει]γμένοις τόποις).

b. Not to sail at night (11. 105 and 112).

2. Rostovtzeff, 'Πλοῖα θαλάσσια' On the Nile, pp. 367ff.; and Soc. Ec. Hist. Hell. World, pp. 715-16, 720-1, 909 and notes.

3. II.92-6: ἀγώγ [ιμοι] / δ' ἔστωσαν οἵ τε λησταὶ καὶ οἱ λοιπο[ὶ κ]ακοῦργοι καὶ οἱ βασιλι[κοὶ] / ναῦται πανταχόθεν καὶ μηθεὶ[ς αὐ]τοὺς ἀφαιρείσθω / ἢ ἔν[ο]χος ἔστω αὐτ[ὸς] ὁ κωλύ[ων] ἢ ὁ [...]μενος τοῖ[ς] αὐτοῖς ἐπιτ[ίμ]οις οἷς καὶ ὁ λ[ηισ]τὴς καὶ τὴ[ν να]ῦν λελο[ι]π[ὼς].

c. Not to sail during a storm (1. 114).

d. When forced to moor at the bank (ἐπ' ἀκτῆς), sailors must notify the authorities and inform the police of the reason for the location of their mooring (11. 114-117). Thereupon, the chief of police should send an adequate guard for their protection (1. 118-9).

e. Only messengers of the King, or urgent missions, are allowed to sail by night and they are to be provided with an armed escort (11. 120-122).

The third aspect touched upon in the same document is that of safeguarding the interests of the State. The extant decree of Philadelphus contains two rulings with regard to the required official documents of a freight:

a. Officials of the royal administration and tax farmers and their checking clerks are not authorized to grant tax-exemptions (143 - 4 μηδ' ἀτελείας διδόναι).

b. No goods are allowed to be carried down the river unless appropriate official receipts (σύμβολα) and their counter receipts (146 [ἀντίγ]ραφα) are represented[4].

This is the earliest and most elaborate set of regulations in our possession, governing the different aspects of navigation on the Nile. Subsequent transportation documents, both of a public or of a private nature, repeatedly reflect the implemantation of these rulings.

An official document, probably of the year 49/8 B.C. preserves as order issued by the deputy diocetes to transport, on a private vessel (σκάφη Ἀγαθοκλείου) 2500 artabae of State corn from the Memphite nome to Alexandria[5]. Necessary security and safety precautions had to be taken:

a. 'selected, highly trustworth guards are placed on board' (1. 12 ἐπιβιβασθέντων φυλακιτῶν κεκληρουχημένων τῶν μάλιστα πίστιν ἐχόντων). These are also entrusted with the corn sample.

b. A contract or personal statement of the ship-master, wherein he engages himself on King's oath to deliver the cargo to the city (Alexandria) unharmed and without delay at his own risk, (18-19 ἐ[αυτοῦ] πόρωι) had to be presented.

c. A number of papers had to be provided, such as: a bill of lading (1.9 ἀπόστολος), the appropriate authorization of the manager of the granary (16 τούς κατήκοντας χρηματίμους), the ship master's statement

4. The σύμβολον may be a document connected with loading whereas ἀντίγραφον or ἀντισύμβολον of loading.

5. SB 8754, Abusir el-Melek.

(χειρογράφια) as well as a receipt and counter receipt (21-37 σύμβολον καί ἀντισύμβολον).

Under Roman administration, in spite of gradually changing conditions, the same procedure, by and large, continued to function. This can be seen in freight contracts relating to both public and private transport. P. London 256 and P. Oxy. 276 of the first century, deal with the transport of State corn from the interior of Egypt to Alexandria[6]. Allowing for missing parts, they share common features despite minor differences.

In the London papyrus, we have the skipper of a public ship (κυβερνῆται σκάφης δημοσίας) whereas in the Oxy. document, transport is undertaken by three skippers on their own cargo ship, (6 κυβερνῆται π[λ]οίο[υ] ναυλωσίμου). Common features seem to be:

a. The presence on board of a Roman soldier who acts as a guard and intermediary in transactions (P.Oxy.9 δι' ἐπιπλόου Κλαυδίου Κελερος / στρατιώτου λεγεῶνος δευτέρας ἑκατονταρχίας Βαρβιρίου).

b. The skippers assume full responsibility to deliver the cargo safely.

c. In the Oxyrhynchus papyrus, the official authorization of the transaction is explicitly stated. It was issued by a superior official in Alexandria called Marius Vindex who sent a written message (15 ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς γραφείσης) to the strategus of the nome, who in his turn instructed the sitologoi of public granaries. These instructions of the strategus were then given to the skipper by the sitologoi (13 παριληφέναι πα[ρ'] αὐτῶν τὰς ἐπισ[τ]άλειας αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῦ νομοῦ στρατηγοῦ Κλαυδ[ίου] Ἡρακλε[ίο]υ).

More interesting for our purpose is a freight contract illustrating private transport, also in the 1st century[7]. The contract is drawn up at Oxyrhynchus between Anoubas, skipper of a river vessel (2-3 κυβερνήτης σκάφης ποταμίας) and Ptolemaeus. The charter is for the return trip between Oxyrhynchus and Hermopolis, from which 500 artabae of aracus are to be transported to Oxyrhynchus. The main point of interest in this private contract lies in the clauses concerning the safety of the cargo and the journey. Anoubas, the skipper,

a. assumes full responsibility (μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας). This is confirmed by a statement at the end, that he will pay for every missing artaba (1.29-30 ἢ ἀποτισάτω αὐτῷ τιμὴ[ν] ἑκάστη[ς ἀρταβας]).

b. undertakes not to sail by night or during a storm (21 καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω αὐτῷ νυκτοπλοεῖν μηδὲ χειμῶνος ὄντος).

6. P. London vol. 2, 256 recto (a) p. 99 (A.D. 15) = Wilcken, Chr. 443; P. Oxy. 276 (A.D. 77).

7. P. Oxy. 3250 (c. A.D. 63).

c. undertakes to moor daily at the safest harbours (23-4 ἀνορμίτω καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσφαλεστάτων ὅρμων).

Similar stipulations, though less detailed, appear in later private freight contracts. In second century abstracts, we notice the recurrence of the clauses on navigation and moorage[8]. A guarantee for the safety of the cargo is also a common feature. In a third century contract, the skipper undertakes to deliver the cargo safe and undamaged as a result of the river journey[9].

It will be noticed that the documents surveyed above, fall into two groups: one deals with transport in public service, the other deals with private freight. The different nature of the two groups is clearly reflected in the various terms of the relevant contracts. The safety of the cargo in both cases is guaranteed. Yet, in the examples of public service a usual procedure is to emphaize the necessity on board of armed men and to stress the fact that there have to be official papers authorizing the transaction. These two obligations are not to be found in examples of private freight. On the other hand they stress, the obligation of the skipper to abide by the rules of navigation and his responsibility towards the safety of his cargo. These two conditions were once thought to have been introduced because of the civil disturbances in the second and third centuries of the Roman period[10], but as we have mentioned, these rules were included in the law of Philadelphus and occured in all their details in the first century. It is perhaps permissible therefore to suggest that the diagrammata decreed by Philadelphus reflect, not only the interest but also the full responsibility of the State in placing all forms of navigation on the Nile under its direct control. It would indeed be surprising if a body of legislations regulating river traffic did not exist. The extant rules in the diagrammata of Philadelphus justify such an assumption. They cover three main aspects of navigation activity, both public and private. Thus the law provided the essential rules and the contracting parties quoted the relative clauses according to individual cases.

Thus far my concern has been limited to Greco-Roman Egypt. Could I, in conclusion, venture to trace back the existence of navigation rules on the Nile to Pharaonic times? In a well known passage, Herodotus gives an account of regulations made by Amasis (568-525 B.C.) for Greek merchants and trade in Egypt. It reads as follows: 'In old days,

8. P. Ross Gorg. II 18 (A.D. 140) and commentary pp. 108-9.

9. P. Lond. III.948 p. 219 (A.D. 236 = Meyer, Juristische Papyri, 43 lines 7-8 "ἅπερ φορτία παραδώσει σῶα καὶ ἀκακουργητα ἀπὸ ναυτικ[ῆς] κακου[ρ]γίας."

10. Johnson, Roman Egypt 413; Schwartz, BIFAO 47 (1947) 188 and n. 4.

Naukratis alone was a trading station (i.e. for the Greeks) and no other one in Egypt. Anyone who brought a ship into any of the other mouths of the Nile was bound to state on oath that he did so of necessity, and then proceed to the Canopic mouth. Should contrary winds prevent him from doing so, he had to carry his freight to Naukratis, all round the Delta. For thus was Naukratis privileged.'[11]

It is obvious that the passage deals with the control of foreign imports from Greece, still the regulations of navigation on the Nile and the provision for sailing on wrong routes due to necessity, echo similar provisions in our documents of the Greco-Roman period. My final suggestion is therefore, that Herodotus' passage reveals the familiarity of Pharaonic Egypt with regulations for traffic on the Nile.

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11. Herod. II. 179 also cf. 178.

Greece in the Arabic Poetic Mirror Ahmad Shawqi: 1868-1932

The foremost Neo-Classical poet, Ahmad Shawqi, was the first in the history of Arabic poetry, the very long history of that poetry, to reflect a strong Greek presence in his works. This had never happened before, since the Arabs and the Muslims of Classical times had reaped the harvest of Hellenism in science, medicine, logic, and philosophy but never in literature, which ommission operated to their disadvantage[1].

I

A curious conjuntion of events and circumstances made this possible in the works of Ahmad Shawqi, who, for this among other reasons, deserves to be known or better known in this country[2]:

1. See F. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam,* (University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1975). For the echoes that reached the Arabs from Greek literature such as jokes and wise saws, see *ibid.* x, pp. 255-266. Of Homer, the lyric poets, and the dramatists, they knew almost nothing.

Iḥsān 'Abbas has made an important and original contribution to the problem of the Greek literary presence in Arabic literature in *Malāmiḥ Yūnāniyya fi al-Adab al-'Arabī* (Beirut, 1977). It is clear from this survey that Greek prose, especially Aesop, was more important to the Arabs than Greek poetry and Homer, about whom the Arabs knew, but whose two epics were not translated into Arabic. Especially interesting is chapter V. pp. 85-97 on the translation of certain fragments from Greek wine poetry into Arabic in the Islamic Occident. But it is doubtful that these fragments fruitfully influenced the composition of Arabic wine lyrics.

2. The only notice of Shawqi by a modern Greek author known to me comes in an anthology of his works titled *al-Mukhtār min Shi'r Amīr al-Shu'arā* (neither author nor date indicated), Cairo), which must have been published after 1912, possibly in the twenties. The introduction to the anthology, written in Arabic, is by a Greek orientalist, Panos Patrisios, who gave an appreciation of Shawqi's poetry, (pp. 7-14). In the last paragraph he says that Shawqi was in Athens in 1912 as a participant in the Orientalist Congress and that the Athe-

1. Shawqi was the second Arab poet to study in Paris where he spent some time around the year 1890. In addition to the many influences that worked on him, especially that of French Romantic poetry, it was the Classical French drama of Corneille and Racine with its Greek models that was the greatest influence on the young impressionable Egyptian poet who was only twenty years old at the time. Thus through Classical French playwrights, Shawqi became acquainted with the glories of ancient Greek drama and his earliest youthful ambition was to transplant this genre to Arabic poetry, which had not known it in Classical times, an ambition he could not fulfill immediately since his efforts foundered on the hard rock of conservatism at home but which he finally fulfilled in the last phase of his life. In addition to the influence of French playwrights on his interest in drama, there was the fact that Shawqi was a highly educated and cultured poet who was aware of the Greek heritage in Islam, which was summed up neatly in the dictum, "Without Alexander, no Islamic Civilization". And in the nineteenth century there was the monumental translation of the Iliad into Arabic verse with a valuable introduction by Sulaymān al-Bustāni, which was not unknown to Shawqi.

2. The Egypt into which Shawqi was born was the Egypt of the 'Alawī dynasty, which had strong ties with Greece. The founder of the Dynasty came from Kavala in Macedonia. His armies and fleets fought on Greek soil and in Greek waters during the Greek War of Independence. His own maternal grandmother was a Greek lady from the Morea, who came to Egypt with Ibrāhīm Pasha as a prisoner of war but because of her talents was manumitted and was married to Shawqi's grandfather Ahmad Halīm Najdalī. So Greek blood flowed in Shawqi's veins[3].

3. Shawqi was also an Ottoman who was a contemporary of Sultan 'Abdul-Hamīd. The wars of the Sultan with Greece and in the Balkans naturally was reflected in the poetry of the young Egyptian poet who, because of the special relationship of Egypt to the Ottoman Empire

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nian paper *Imbros* published a portrait of him made by the poet-artist. Pantineon (?).

The name of this poet-artist appears in Arabic characters as بانتيون but it does not seem to answer to a modern Greek proper name. It is therefore likely that the poet-artist in question is none other than Παρθένης Κωνσταντῖνος, Parthénis, who was born in Alexandria 1n 1879, came to Greece, and introduced impressionists' painting. The Patriarchal Church in Cairo has some of his paintings and many pictures of his may be found in the Museum of Modern Art in Athens. I owe this biographical note and possible identification to the kindness of Dr. Renée Kahane.

3. See the introduction to the first volume of *al-Shawqiyyāt* (Cairo, 1898), pp. 14-15. For his elegy on his Greek grandmother, see *ibid.*, pp. 149-151.

became the unofficial poet-laureate of 'Abdul-Hamīd in the Arab provinces.

4. Finally there were two great cities of the Eastern Mediterranean region between which Shawqi commuted and which reminded him of the Greek presence. The first was the City of Constantine which, in spite of the Turkish form of its name and after five centuries of Ottoman rule, retained much of its Greek past. Shawqi used to spend his summers there for some quarter of a century until the outbreak of the First World War. The second was Alexandria, a Greek city on Egyptian soil and Alexander's foundation. It was second home for Shawqi after Cairo, in which he had his villa, Durrat al-Ghawwāṣ. On his way from Alexandria to Istanbul, he crossed the Aegean and touched on the Greek islands. And in 1912 he attended the Oriental Congress which was then held in Athens.

II

Greece is reflected in various places in Shawqi's vast *oeuvre:*

1. One of the earliest of these reflections is in a short novel he wrote around the year 1900 and for a setting he gave the novel the Greek island of Samos[4]. The plot involves the competition of the Persian prince Bahrām and the Egyptian Ḥamās for the hand of Lādiyās, the daughter of the Greek tyrant of Samos-Polycrates, the same island and the same tyrant that Lord Byron wrote about in one of his stanzas in "The Isles of Greece":

Fill hight the bowl with Samian wine:
    We will not thing of themes like these:
It made Anacreon's song divine:
    He served-but served Polycrates-
A tyrant; but our masters then
    Were still, at least, our countrymen.

2. In his *Dīwān* (collected poems) Greece is well remembered. There are many references to Greece in his long poems on the Turkish-Greek wars of the reign of Sultan 'Abdul-Hamīd[5]. Crete is also remembered in one of his poems inspired by the sight of the island while on his way by

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4. *Lādyiās* (Sa'āda Press, Cairo, no date). Shawqi's admiration for ancient Greek civilization is reflected in various parts of this work, e.g. p. 101. The same admiration is reflected in the poem he composed on the occasion of the translation of Aristotle's *Nichomachaean Ethics* by Ạhmad Luṭfi al-Sayyid for which, see *al-Shawqiyyāt,* (Cairo, 1961), vol. I. p. 219.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-58, 280-285 Naturally his sentiments in these poems are those of an Ottoman.

sea to Istanbul from Alexandria[6]. The Hellenistic period in the history of Egypt is described by the poet to whom Alexandria was a second home. It is remembered in his long poem on Egypt which he recited before the Congress of Orientalists in Geneva, in 1894, and he takes pride in the glorious chapter written by the Greeks in the long history of his country-Egypt[7]. Athens inspired him to write one of his poems, although the poem is on Pharaonic Egypt[8], and he remembered Athens and its place in the history of civilization in the introduction to his splendid Ode on the Nile which he dedicated to the British Orientalist, Margoliouth[9]. And of course there was Istanbul, the Greek character of which was evident to him in the various localities such as the Bosphorus and the Church/Mosque of Hagia Sophia/Aya Sofia.

3. Finally, Shawqi was the most succesful pioneer of verse drama in the history of Arabic poetry. The genre, the gift of the Greeks to the literatures of the Western world, had remained unknown to Arabic literature until the modern Arab renaissance in the 19th century when various feeble attempts were made to introduce it to modern Arabic poetry. But in the hands of Shawqi -the greatest Neo-Classical poet, it was a succesful experiment. And no aspiring dramatist has been able to come within measurable distance of Shawqi since the twenties of this century. His most succesful verse-drama was on a Greek girl-none other than the last of the Ptolemies-Cleopatra.

III

The Greek element in Shawqi's *Dīwān* is of unequal value artistically. Two of his most succesful compositions on Greek themes deserves recognition in this context; his ode on the Cathedral-Mosque, Aya Sophia, and his characterization of Cleopatra.

The first is what might be termed an *ekphrasis* poem; it belongs to that attractive genre of poetry that describes the achievements of the other arts such as a painting, a sculpture, or a building. Shawqi is the great poet of *ekphrasis* in Arabic poetry or any literary tradition. Keats wrote his "Ode on a Grecian Urn", and Shelley his "Ozymandias", but Shawqi

6. See *al-Shawqiyyāt al-Majhūla,* ed. M. Ṣabrī, (Beirut, 1979), vol. I, p. 271, Vol. II, p. 71.
7. See *al-Shawqiyyāt,* (Cairo, 1961), Vol. I, pp. 23-24.
8. *Ibid.,* (Cairo, 1961), vol. IV, pp. 61-61.
9. *Ibid.,* vol. II, p. 63.
10. For his poems on Istanbul and its environs, see *ibid.,* vol. I, pp. 154-155; vol. II, pp. 25-27, 38-40, 40-42, 51-53; vol. IV, p. 60.

wrote a great number of odes on the mosques, palaces, temples, paintings of the entire Mediterranean region from Spain to Syria. The poem is also remarkable for the mature meditations which the poet expresses on Christian-Muslim relations, typical of the poet who conceived of nature and history as the twin genii of poetry and poets, and it is reflective of his tolerance and transcendence of sectarian strife, almost foreshadowing this ecumenical age and its inter-denominational dialogues[11].

The opening two verses reflect his respect for the two contending religions, represented in the Cathedral-Mosque:

كَنيسة صارت الى مسجدِ   هدية السيّد للسيّد
كانت لعيسى حَرَماً فانتهت   بنصرة الروح الى أحمد

While the following passage expresses his admiration for Muhammad the Conquerer:

قد جاءها الفاتح في عصبةٍ   من الأُسود الرُكّع السجّدِ.
رمى بهم بنيانها مثلما   يصطدم الجلمد بالجلمد
فَلبّدوا فيها وضحّى العدا   واختلط المشهد بالمشهد
وما توانى الروم يفدونه   والسيف في المغمدّ والمفتدي....
بفاتح غازٍ عفيف القنا   لا يحمل الحقد ولا يعتدي

His play, *The Death of Cleopatra,* is the most succesful of his verse dramas. It is remarkable, among other things, for Shawqi's boldness in departing from the Shakespearean conception of Cleopatra, which had dominated all literary artists who had treated that theme. In Shawqi the Greek Queen is no "harlot of the Nile" but a Greek-Egyptian patriot defending the patrimony of the Ptolemies and Pharaonic Egypt against Imperialist Rome which had intruded into the Eastern Mediterranean. In addition to this vision of Cleopatra, there are lovely lyrics in the play. Perhaps the best is the one which Cleopatra recites after she had realized that her star had set and the end was approaching. She casts a

11. For the poem on Aya Sofia, see *ibid.,* vol. II, pp. 25-27. The *ekphrasis* in the poem takes eight lines. In spite of his fairness to Christianity and his understanding of the special relationship that obtained between two religions, Islam and Christianity, Shawqi cannot forget that he was a Muslim and an Ottoman and naturally he expresses Muslim and Ottoman sentiments at the end.

last lingering look at the harbor of Alexandria from her palace and reminisces on her achievement in the service of Egypt and its defence against Rome:

حصني يحدّثني بوشك أفوله   إسكندريّة هل أقول وداعا

وشبيبةٍ بركِ جديدةٍ وجميلةٍ   ولسوف تجرك عدةً وشراعا

وأنا اللباة وقد ملأتك غابة   وأنا الحماة وقد ملأتك قلاعا

قد خفت من بعدي عليك ممالكا   يطلقن فيك الفاتحين سباعا

يأتين زرعك بالرياح عواصفا   ويجئن ضرعك بالذئاب جياعا

فإذا الحضارة بعد طول نمائها   قد ذلّ ركن بنائها وتداعى

IV

So much for Greece and the Greek presence in the poetry of Shawqi. It remains to mark its significance for Arabic and Comparative Literature:

Rarely did an Arab Muslim poet in Classical times leave the boundaries of the Islamic Caliphate or Dār al-Islām to travel in foreign lands whence he could draw inspiration. Shawqi was the first major poet to do so, when he was sent by the Khedive Tawfīk on a scholarship to study in France, first in Montpellier and then in Paris. The French phase in his early life was decisive in the development of Shawqi's poetry. His annual trips to Constantinople and his crossing the Mediterranean many times were unique experience Greece and Hellenism both were reflected in his poetry partly as a result of this. In so doing, Shawqi contributed to the gradual termination of the isolation of Arabic poetry at least as regards its themes. These had been strictly Arab and Islamic and meant little to the outside reader unacquainted with the background of the poems, often referring to obscure events and localities in the Arab and Arabian homeland. When Shawqi made the fortunes of the Greek Queen, Cleopatra, his theme in the verse drama that carries her name, he dealt with a theme well known to Western literary art and made the Arab literary artist a participant in one of the themes of world literature.

Greece in the Arab poetic mirror of Ahmad Shawqi is a theme that can fruitfully involve two other poets, Lord Byron and Constantine Cavafy, in the context of Comparative Literature. All three poets were involved in Greece from three different viewpoints: Shawqi with all his Greek connection, was a Turcophile, Lord Byron was a Hellenophile, while Cavafy was an Alexandrine of the Greek Diaspora who had an ambivalent attitude towards the Greek homeland:

The English poet sided with the Greek in the War of Independence, came to the country, fought and died in Missolonghi in 1824. Greece is extensively reflected in his poetry, and in my estimation that lovely poem, "The Isles of Greece", is the best that has survived from his Greek experience. Although a longish poem, it is as inspired composition from the first to the last strophe.

The other poet, Constantine Cavafy, is more important to the theme of this paper and to the spirit of this conference at which Greece is hosting Arab poets and scholars in Graeco-Arabic studies. Constantine Cavafy and Ahmad Shawqi have not, to my knowledge, been ever discussed together, and yet they are respectively the two greatest Greek and Arab poets of their times and Egypt was their mother country. Cavafy was by his own admission a poet-historian and so was Shawqi, who identified the two demons of poetry as nature and history. Cavafy was an Alexandrine who lived in the Hellenistic and Byzantine past of Egypt and Alexandria and Shawqi was an Ottoman who lived in a much more extensive past temporally and spatially, but who, too admired the Hellenistic past of Egypt and Alexandria, a city of which he was a frequent visitor, where he had a villa, and on whose Queen, Cleopatra, he composed his best verse-drama.

Yet the two greatest poets that Alexandria and Cairo produced, Constantine Cavafy and Ahmad Shawqi never met, a fact revelatory of the cultural cleavage in the life of Alexandria and the Arab World of those days. A revolution has come over the spirit of Arabic poetry since then. The modern Arab poet of these days and the post-War period is an internationalist, like his colleagues in Europe, who has terminated the splendid isolation that had plagued him for centuries. His closest European neighbor is the Greek. A new Mediterranean has emerged after the Second World War, half of which is Arabophone facing Greece and the Greek homeland, and a sense of community among the various countries of this ancient sea has also emerged reflected in Mediterranean festivals and symposia of various kinds. The Greek heritage has been that of the whole of Europe, since Europeans consider themselves culturally

the children of Hellas. The Arabs, too, in Classical times were the children of Hellas in science, medicine, logic and philosophy. In recent times, they have taken long strides in the assimilation of the Greek literary heritage. Thus a new dawn may be said to have broken for Arabic poetry and Ahmad Shawqi, is the star of this dawn.

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The Early Fatimid Blue Koran Manuscript

Leaves from a spectacular manuscript of the Koran written in gold on blue vellum are cherished in many public and private collections of Islamic art in Europe, America and the Middle East[1]. These pages have been known since 1912, when the great collector F.R. Martin announced that he had acquired leaves from a Koran written in gold on blue vellum commissioned by the Abbasid caliph, al-Ma'mun, for the tomb of his father, Harun al-Rashid, at Mashhad[2]. Until the mid-1970's, scholars accepted Martin's attribution of the manuscript to Abbasid Mesopotamia or Iran, but when a single leaf from a "nearly complete" manuscript in the National Institute of Art and Archaeology in Tunis was exhibited in London in 1976, other scholars proposed a ninth or tenth-century North-African attribution[3]. Lacking firm evidence, most scholars have been cautious about the new attribution. New codicological and paleographic analysis establishes that all the pages said to come from the "Blue Koran" come from one manuscript, undoubtedly produced in the Muslim West during the 10th century. Fuerthermore, consideration of this manuscripts's peculiarities suggests that its Muslim makers intended it ot be a response to Byzantine art.

All of the pages said to come from this manuscript share similar page size, ruling, average number of letters per line and words per page. The folios of fine, supple pachment dyed deep blue swith indigo originally measured some 31 x 41 cm., although all pages in Western collections have been separated into single leaves and some have had their margins trimmed by as much as 10 cm.[4].

1. Sotheby's, Geneva, *Islamic Art* 25 June 1985 Item 11, for the most recent bibliography.
2. F.R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India and Turkey* (London, 1912) pp. 106, 141 m. 83.
3. Martin Lings and Yasin Hamid Safadi, *The Qur'an* (London, 1976).
4. For example, the page in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University measures 28.6 x 37.5 com.

The script is generally umpointed unvoweled kufic with very little differentiation between horizontal and vertical stroke with; only diagonals are appreciably narrower, as in *alif-lam* or the upper part of *dal* or *kaf*. The average *alif* is 1.2 cm. high[5]. An average number of 17.5 letters fills each line, but some lines have as few as 11 or as many as 23 as a result of the deliberate extension of letters for aesthetic effect.

None of the pages shows any evidence of ever having been voweled, either at or after the time they were copied. Throughout one finds a few letter inconsistently given short diagonal strokes to differentiate similar shapes. Thus one gold stroke may indicate a *nun* and two gold strokes a *ta'*. Three strokes sometimes indicate a *shin*, but sometimes the same letter is unmarked. Examination of one page under ultraviolet light failed to show any residues of the binder used to apply gold for diacritical marks which might now have flaked off. Thus, the scribe certainly knew the use of diacritical points, but used them inconsistently.

Silver marks were used consistently to punctuate the text. Where they have not flaked off, they have tarnished to a dull dark gray. Each verse ends with a round marker – perhaps a rosette, but the degradation of the silver makes it difficult to tell – placed either within the text or in the outer margin. Every group of five verses is marked with a silver *ha'*, the alphabetic *(abjad)* sign for five. Tens are similarly marked by *abjad*, as is visible on a folio in the Chester Beatty Library where the letter *sad* indicates the end of the sixtieth verse. The text was also divided according to a system of thirtieths[6].

Most of the pages in European and American collections contain text from Koran chapters 243. Two pages from Tunis, however, and some in private collections come from a later part of the text. However, in no case is text duplicated and the gaps between the extant sections of text are consistent with a logical sequence of pages. Thus the original complete manuscript was divided into sections: pages from chapters 2 and 3 appeared first on the Western art market, while pages from other chapters appeared later.

David James was the first European scholar to note that the manuscript conforms to a manuscript mentioned in the inventory of manuscripts contained in the library of the Great Mosque of Qayrawan in 693/1293[7].

5. A.J. Arberry, *The Koran Illuminated* (Dublin, 1967) p. 4.

6. The verso of the Fogg page has a silver marginal rosette keyed to the end of verse 2:231, three-quarters of the way through a thirtieth of the text.

7. David James, *Qur'ans and Bindings from the Chester Beatty Library* (London, 1980) p. 22.

The first item was a Koran in seven large sections contained in an aloeswood case decorated with copper inlaid with gold. Each section was bound in tooled leather and wrapped in silk. Every page of dark vellum had five lines of gold kufic writing. The chapter and verse markers as well as the marginal numbers were done in silver[8]. Emending the inventory entry to read "fifteen" instead of "five", as easy a step in Arabic as it is in English, the text perfectly describes the blue Koran pages. Judging from the extant pages and the gaps between them, each of the seven volumes would have had ninety to a hundred leaves, a total of some six hundred folios in all. The absence of catchwords to help assemble the folios has led to the speculation that the manuscript was paginated in reverse[9]. The "reverse pagination" must result from the subsequent rearrangement of the text by illiterates.

In contrast to many other early manuscripts of the Koran, this manuscript did not have titles or verse counts at the beginning of the suras. One published folio shows the typical beginning of a sura. One chapter ends in the middle of a line with a silver "rosette" and three sets of four diagonal marks spaced across the line. The next line is filled by a horizontal gold strip attached to a gold palmette projecting into the left margin. The basmala opening the next chapter begins immediately on the following line[10].

Neither the script nor the decoration serves to localize the production of the manuscript, yet one bit of previously unnoticed evidence points umistakably to a North African origin. The letter used to mark verse 60 on folio IV in the Chester Beatty Library is a *sad*. This letter represents the number sixty *only* according to the Maghribi system of *abjad;* according to the eastern, and more common, system, sixty would have been represented by the letter *shin*[11]. Taken together with the known presence of the manuscript in Qayrawan in 693/1293, the evidence of *abjad* allows us to assume safely that the manuscript was produced in the western, not eastern, lands of Islam. Qayrawan, of course, is the most likely place of production, since the manuscript is first mentioned there.

8. Ibrahim Shabih, "Sijil qadim il-maktaba jami' al-Qayrawan", *Revue de l'Institut des manuscrits arabes* 1 (1956): 345.

9. Most recently by A. Welch in *Treasures of Islam,* Toby Falk, ed. (Geneva, 1985) p. 36: "In this remarkable Qur'an the left-hand page generally precedes the right, the reversal of normal pagination".

10. *De Carthage à Kairouan – 2000 ans d'art et d'histoire en Tunisie* (Paris, 1983) pp. 26 and 267.

11. W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language,* 3rd ed. (Cambridge, 1971) 1:28 s. 32.

A customs stamp on the page in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University bears witness that the page passed through Persian customs in 1902, a few years before Martin first mentioned the manuscript. It is impossible to know how much of the manuscript was together at that point, or which way the manuscript page(s) went. If a sixteenth-century "Persian" tooled leather binding in a private collection[12] was indeed made specifically for the pages, a section of the manuscript – perhaps the first volume – arrived in the East centuries ago, perhaps as a result of Ottoman domination in North Africa. Martin, who is known to have bought manuscripts from the Ottoman libraries, may have tried to disguise the immediate provenance of his pages. A romantic Persian attribution would have appealed to his clients especially since the art of the early Medieval Maghrib was – and still is – largely unknown.

The horizontal format, generous spacing, and lack of short vowels in the Blue Koran mansucript are all characteristic of manuscripts generally assigned to the ninth or tenth centuries. However, during these two centuries, the Maghrib changed enormously. Whereas the Aghlabid governors ruled Ifriqiya (modern Tunisia) for the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad during the ninth century, in the tenth century the Fatimids seized power and established a new caliphate centered in Ifriqiya but with aspirations to universal rule. During the course of the century, the Fatimids spread their influence throughout North Africa. In 358/969 they moved to Egypt, leaving Ifriqiya in the hands of their Zirid lieutenants, who continued in their service for almost another century. Great differences separate these two centuries, the arts of the two dynasties, and the possible patrons of the Blue Koran.

The Aghlabids were great builders of religious, military and civil installations throughout their realm, but very little certain is known about the "minor arts" under their patronage. At the Great Mosque of Qayrawan, the magnificent set of multicolored luster tiles surrounding the mihrab, the carved marble panels of the mihrab itself, and the carved wooden minbar are thought to have been imported wholesale from Baghdad. These fittings demonstrate the strong influence of Abbasid art in Mesopotamia on the Aghlabid art. In the Aghlabids had been the patrons of the Blue Koran it would have to have been inspired by some Abbasid model, for which we have to evidence.

The arrival of the Fatimids brought the Aghlabids to a sudden end. In 909, the new Fatimid caliph established his court in Qayrawan. While the

12. Christie's, *Khurasan* (London, November 9, 1977 lot 66).

later Fatimids of Egypt were known for their splendid court, al-Mahdi and his successor were hardly interested in wordly splendor. The needed to establish their power in North Africa and expand it throughout the Islamic world. Yet, Fatimid control of North Africa was initially so tenuous that the third caliph, al-Mansur, nearly lost it to a Kharijite foe. Saved in the nick of time, al-Mansur celebrated his victory over his rival by initiating a splendid court life, described in historical accounts[13]. The two decades between al-Mansur's victory and his son's move to Egypt is a plausible time for the production of the Blue Koran. After the Fatimids left, the Zirids neglected Qayrawan and it began to stagnate. Thus, the Fatimids are the most likely patrons of the Blue Koran. But why would they have commissioned such a manuscript?

Its deep blue ground and its gold writing distinguish the Blue Koran from most other kufic manuscripts. Writing in gold was not uncommon in medieval Islam, nor was writing on a colored ground[14]. However, the significance of this manuscript lies in the simultaneous use of gold writing on a dark blue ground. Already on the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, the first work of Islamic art, one finds extensive inscriptions worked in gold and blue glass mosaic, a common combination in Byzantine mosaic decorative programs. Though no longer extant, similar Koranic inscriptions are known to have decorated the qibla wall of the Umayyad mosques of Medina and Damascus. Later examples from the Great Mosque of Cordoba, and the Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem have a common inspiration in Umayyad mosaic decoration. At Cordoba, the patrons hired Byzantine artisans to recreate the Umayyad mosaics of Syria; at Jerusalem, the nature of the script and subject-matter of the decoration clearly indicate that the artisans consciously tried to imitate the styles of earlier Umayyad mosaics[15]. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that mosaic inscriptions inspired the Blue Qur'an, especially since manuscript sources are possible.

Arabic sources record that in 326/938 the Byzantine emperor Romanus Lecapenus sent the Abbasid caliph al-Radi a letter written in gold; the Arabic translation of the Greek text was written in silver. In 334 and 338, the emperor sent similar letters to the Umayyad ruler of Spain written in gold on parchment dyed "the color of the sky"[16]. These letters

13. Jonathan M. Bloom, "The Origins of Fatimid Art", *Muqarnas* 3 (1985).

14. Adam Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam* (Patna, 1937) p. 175.

15. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture* (Oxford, 1940-69) passim.

16. Al-Qadi al-Rashid b. al-Zubayr, *Kitab al-Dhakha'ir wa'l-Tuhaf* (Kuwait, 1959) p. 60 and Ibn 'Idhari al-Marrakashi, *al-Bayan al-Maghrib* ed. G.S. Colin and E. Levi-Provençal (Leiden, 1948), pp. 229 and 231.

stem from a tradition of gold and silver writing on parchment dyed with murex, an imperial prerogative. The most famous examples are the 6th-century Vienna Genesis, the Rossano Codex, and the Sinope Gospels, but the revival of the Empire in western Europe saw the further development of purple codices, undoubtedly because of their imperial connotations.

Muslim patrons were probably familiar with these magnificent examples of imperial art. We know that the Byzantines sent embassies with magnificent gifts to the Fatimids. An embassy of 346/957-58 brought tribute including vessels of gold and silver inlaid with jewels, brocades, silk, nard and other precious items to prevent a renewed Fatimid campaign against Byzantine Calabria[17]. Five years earlier, the magnificent tribute presented by a Byzantine embassy to the Fatimid court led the caliph al-Mansur to order even finer presents sent back in order to impress the Byzantines with the splendor of the Fatimid court[18].

In this context of the imperial exchange of gifts, we can easily imagine the Fatimids ordering the Blue Koran manuscript. The Fatimid workshops could have easily produced such fine work as they made an image of the world woven of blue *tustari qurqubi* silk which cost 22,000 dinars to make. The climates of the earth, its mountains, seas, cities, rivers and roads were all portrayed in geographical form and identified by inscriptions in gold, silver or silk[19]. Only the rare murex dye of the Byzantine manuscripts would have been beyond local resources. Parchment dyed with indigo was surely an acceptable substitute.

Although the manuscript was legible, it was probably not made to be read. The shimmering gold letters against the deep blue background could hardly make easy reading; the lack of contemporary or later vowel markings, usually found on early manuscripts, and the faulty collation all indicate that the manuscript was not often read. The gold writing on a blue ground was chosen for its clear connotations of Byzantine imperium. Its expensive materials – gold, silver, fine parchment, tooled leather, silk and the aloeaswood chest inlaid with copper and gold – connoted luxury more than piety. The Fatimids ordered such a manuscript because it would have signified the prestige of the relatively new Fatimid state.

One can only speculate about the manuscript's ultimate destination.

17. S.M. Stern, "An Embassy of the Byzantine Emperor to the Fatimid Caliph, al-Mu'izz", *Byzantion* 20 (1950): 244.

18. Marius Canard, *Vie de l'usradh Jawdhar* (Algiers, 1957), p. 89.

19. Al-Maqrizi, *al-Mawa'iz wa'l-Akbar bi-dhikr al-Khitat wa'l-Athar* (Cairo, 1853) 1: 417.

There is no real reason to think that it was made for the Great Mosque of Qayrawan. The Fatimids had no great love for Ifriqiya, and thought of Egypt as another temporary stopping place on their way to reclaim the entire Muslim world. One should imagine that the manuscript was meant to be sent abroad – perhaps to Mecca or Medina – as a symbol of the new Fatimid power.

When the treasuries of the Fatimid caliphs were looted by the hungry troops, bound volumes *(khitmat)* of the Koran written in gold on blue were found in the palace's treasury of books. Other sources state that 2400 Korans in chests *(rab'a)* were found, many done in gold and silver. Sixty years earlier, 1298 manuscripts of the Koran in both bound volumes and chests, were taken from the Fatimid palace to the Mosque of 'Amr. Among them were some written entirely in gold[20].

Thus, the Blue Koran was not unique, but it is the only example to have survived looting and destruction of the palace treasuries. An eyewitness to the looting suggests a possible history for the manuscript:

> During the first third of Muharram 461/1068, I saw twenty-five camel loads of books taken to the house of the vizier Abu'l-Faraj Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Maghrabi. I asked and was told that the vizier and Khatir b. al-Muwaffaq fi-Din had taken them contractually from the palace treasuries in payment for sums due to them and their respective functionaries. The vizier's share of the balance due his Mamluks and servants was only five thousand dinars; however, an expert on books told me that they were worth over 100,000 dinars. The following month, all was plundered from his house when Nasr al-Dawla b. Hamdan was forced to flee Misr. Still other books from the library of the Dar-al-'Ilm in al-Qahira went to 'Imad al-Dawla Abu'l-Fadl b. al-Muhtarraq in Alexandria. After he was killed, the books eventually passed to the Maghrib. Still other books fell into the hands of the Luwata tribe – either by purchase or force – when in the same year they moved down the Nile to Alexandria. These precious books – which had no equals anywhere in the beauty of the writing and binding – were taken by slaves and their wives who made sandals from the bindings. The pages were burned on the pretext that they came from the caliph's palace and contained improper sectarian ideas. Still other books were dumped in the river, destroyed, or carried off to other lands. Those which

20. Ibid. 2: 350.

were not burned were covered by the wind-blown sands, forming the small hills still known today in the region as the "Hills of Books"[21].

Thus between the making of the Blue Koran in the middle of the tenth century in Qayrawan and the Qayrawan library register of 693/1293, two histories are possible. Either it went into the library and stayed there, treasured for its magnificence, or it was taken by the Fatimids to Egypt, looted from the palace treasuries a century later, passed into the hands of an Alexandrian functionary, and made its way back to the land of its origin. Whatever its history, the Blue Koran stands as a remarkable monument of the influence of Byzantine imperial manuscripts on early Fatimid book production.

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21. Ibid. 1: 408.

Witty Retorts of Philosophers and Sages from the *Kitāb al-Ajwibah al-muskitah* of Ibn Abī ʿAwn

The date of Ibn Abī ʿAwn's death is given as 322/934. He was thus a near-contemporary – probably, a somewhat younger contemporary – of Ibn Durayd, who had a chapter on the sayings of the Ancients in one of his works.[1] Given the uncertainties attaching to the transmission of Ḥunayn's famous florilegium, Ibn Abī ʿAwn's brief chapter in his rather substantial work on witty remarks[2] belongs to the oldest datable collections of Graeco-Arabic sayings, albeit of a special character. Scattered quotations are, of course, transmitted from much earlier times, as in the *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* of al-Jāḥiẓ. Ibn Abī ʿAwn includes Greek material apparently not attested to my knowledge in Greek literature as well as some very

1. Cf. F. Rosenthal, "Sayings of the Ancients from Ibn Durayd's *Kitāb al-Mujtanā,*" in *Orientalia,* N. S. 27 (1958), 29-54, 150-83.

This paper was prepared on hand of the edition of (the second half of) the work by Muḥammad ʿAbd-al-Qādir Aḥmad, 25-45 (Cairo 1985). While working on it, I learned that Wadad Kadi was thinking of preparing an edition, and she kindly let me use her manuscript material. An important article by U. Marzolph alerted me to the dissertation by May A. Yousef, then under way at the University of Bochum (U. Marzolph, "Philogelos arabikos," in *Der Islam,* 64 (1987), 185-230, in particular, 188, n. 9). Yousef's work appeared in Berlin with a 1988 date *(Das buch der schlagfertigen Antworten von Ibn Abī ʿAwn. Ein Werk der klassisch-arabischen Adab-Literatur. Einleitung, Edition und Quellenanalyse).* The editor pays no attention to the Greek sources but has consistently added extensive references to Arabic parallels. With respect to the later literature, her references have not been duplicated here (with some exceptions, as at-Tawḥīdī). Nothing needs be said here about the manuscripts. The beautifully written Berlin manuscript (Spr. 1205 = Cat. Ahlwardt 8317), principally relied upon by Yousef, has preserved some better readings, but, in general, it has a rather poor text with more than ten sayings missing (which do not seem to be secondary additions in the other manuscripts); one (no. 9a) is added. For all the information on Ibn Abī ʿAwn's life and works, Yousef's careful discussion should be consulted.

2. The title is variously given: *Lubb al-albāb fī jawābāt dhawī al-albāb* and also with *Jawābāt,* instead of *Ajwibah.*

limited material not yet found elsewhere in Arabic literature.[3]

As T. Nöldeke once pointed out[4], a translation often provides the simplest kind of commentary. It is also the most economic way to indicate problems and suggest perspectives. The following translation gives references to Greek sources and Arabic versions. However, the Greek florilegia are not always cited, and stray parallels in later Arabic works are mentioned only sporadically.[5] Since Ibn Abī 'Awn is interested in the retorts, he proceeds somewhat cavalierly with the introductions leading up to them. These introductions sometimes contribute to the clarification of the interrelationship of sources. It may be noted that the ancient question-answer style is sometimes rather artificial here and could often be replaced by simple direct statements.

One basic problem posed by this material is its position within the network of Arabic collections of Ancient sayings. The following remarks may be helpful for its eventual solution. They should be compared with the discussion of the subject by Yousef.

Ḥunayn's *Nawādir* hes left few traces in Ibn Abī 'Awn's work. Relying on the text published by 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Badawī,[6] we find that Ibn Abī 'Awn shares only a little more than ten percent of his material with it. This may be due to our ignorance of what Ḥunayn's work actually looked like, but it rather seems to reflect the fact that Ḥunayn was oriented toward philosophical thought, whereas Ibn Abī 'Awn was interested in jokes and facetious and scurrilous statements and not in popular ethics, although he cannot avoid showing some concern also for the latter. In contrast to Ḥunayn, of Ibn Durayd's seventy-four items, fifteen recur in Ibn Abī 'Awn; that is about twenty percent. This is a rather respectable percentage. There can be no thought of interdependence, but it confirms the wide availability of the material at the latest in the early ninth century.

The large collections dedicated to wisdom sayings after Ibn Abī 'Awn's time include a much higher percentage of his material. The published

3. The comprehensive corpus of Graeco-Arabic wisdom literature planned by D. Gutas can be expected to fill many gaps and remove many of the uncertainties left here. For a recent brief general survey, see M. van Esbroek, in M. Pavan and U. Cozzoli (eds.), *L'eredità classica nelle lingue orientali,* 11-23 (Rome 1986).

4. *Untersuchungen zum Achiqar-Roman,* 34 (Berlin 1913. Abh. k. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse, N. F. 14, 4).

5. See above, above, n. 1.

6. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq, *Ādāb al-falāsifah* (Kuwait 1985). Yousef, who had to rely on A. Loewenthal's German translation from the Hebrew, refers erroneously to Ḥunayn in connection with nos. 5/668 and 69/733.

edition of the *Ṣiwān* ascribed to Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī as-Sijistānī[7] has twenty-seven percent of the sayings, but counting six more items from the recension preserved in the Istanbul manuscript Fatih 3222, the percentage rises to almost thirty-five percent. Anything found in ash-Shahrastānī[8] also ought to be counted as originally included in the *Ṣiwān.* Al-Mubashshir[9] has the same percentage of almost thirty-five percent. Mub. shares with Ibn Abī 'Awn only a very few sayings that have not also been traced to the other major collections (nos. 55, 61, 71, [79], 82), but dating from the eleventh century, he is anyway too late to be statistically relevant.

More remarkable is the congruence with Ibn Hindū.[10] Here the percentage goes up to over fifty percent. Many shared sayings appear among Ibn Hindū's anonymous quotations where they usually agree literally with the wording of Ibn Abī 'Awn. Such agreement is not always found in other shared sayings scattered throughout Ibn Hindū's collection. Instances where Ibn Hindū has the name of an authority while none is given by Ibn Abī 'Awn indicate that in these cases Ibn Hindū could not have depended on Ibn Abī 'Awn (cf. nos. 28, 36, 88); common names such as Socrates or Diogenes could possibly constitute creative additions on the part of Ibn Hindū (nos. 74, 77), but this is unlikely, especially in cases where the authority indicated by Ibn Hindū agrres with that in the Greek original, as in no. 77. We may conclude that for his anonumous material, Ibn Hindū might conceivably have used Ibn Abī 'Awn directly. Elsewhere, a common source must be posited. The common-source hypothesis appears to be applicable in general, confirming again the existence of Ibn Abī 'Awn's material in the first half of the ninth century, if not earlier.

With respect to some general *adab* works, the following may be said: The third/ninth century Ibn Qutaybah shares only a very few sayings with Ibn Abī 'Awn in his *'Uyūn al-akhbār* (nos. 11, 51, 52, 57) (reprint Cairo 1963-64).[11] On the other hand, the later al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī, in his

7. *Ṣiwān al-ḥikmah,* ed. D. M. Dunlop (The Hague 1979). Ed. Badawī refers to 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Badawī's largely identical text (Teheran 1974). Also Ms. Fatih 3222.

8. *Kitāb al-Milal wa-n-niḥal,* ed. W. Cureton (London 1842-46).

9. Al-Mubashshir b. Fātik, *Mukhtār al-ḥikam,* ed. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Badawī (Madrid 1958). For the manuscripts, see F. Rosenthal, in *Oriens,* N. S. 13-14 (1961), 132-58, and *JAOS,* 83 (1963), 456 f.; 95 (1975), 211-13; 99 (1979), 91-93.

10. *Al-Kalim ar-rūḥānīyah* (Cairo 1318/1900) and Ms. Aya Sofya 2452.

11. For at-Tawḥīdī, W. Kadi assumes dependence on Ibn Abī 'Awn, cf. her edition of the *Kitāb al-Baṣā'ir wa-dh-dhakhā'ir,* IX, 269 (Beirut 1408/1988). Note that Tawḥ., IV, 170, has three sayings also found in Ibn Abī 'Awn (nos. 37, 49, and 79).

Muḥāḍarāt al-udabā' (Būlāq 1286-87), has about twenty-seven, or as much as approximately thirty percent, namely, nos. 4 *(Muḥāḍarāt,* I, 319), 5 (II, 299), 6 (I, 188), 9a (I, 211), 11 (I, 41), 17 (I, 201), 20 (II, 200), 23 (I, 26), 25 (II, 117), 26 (II, 127), 35 (II, 83 f.), 36 (II, 289), 28 (I, 398), 46 (I, 236), 50 (I, 188), 56 (I, 308), 58 (I, 269), 61 (I, 134), 62 (II, 200), 63 (II, 301), 65 (I, 41), 66 (I, 74, 366), 71 (I, 10), 73 (II, 225), 74 (II, 95), 79 (I, 316), and 83 (II, 127). As one would expect, the sayings as reported by ar-Rāghib often omit the Greek names and show many changes in the phrasing. Sometimes these changes are obviously intended to clarify the meaning (for instance, nos. 5 and 71). If one expects the unusual item no. 63, for which ar-Rāghib gives a more elaborate version, the only saying for which no other Arabic parallel seems to be available is no. 56. In one case (no. 74), ar-Rāghib's text is the only -parallel source available to me[12] to correspond exactly to Ibn Abī 'Awn. Tempting as it may be to connect Ibn Abī 'Awn to one of the known collections, with which he was presumably familiar, it simply cannot be done – at the present, and, I believe, also at the future, stage of our knowledge.

Ibn Abī 'Awn cannot be proved to have relied upon a single source. On the other hand, he is not very likely to have ransacked a large number of Arabic works. He includes some explicitly non-Greek material. However, early translations may already have included the sayings attributed to Persian authorities (nos. 16, 17, 44, 51, 56), or provided illustrations from Arabic poetry (nos. 72 and 73), or even transferred a Greek concept into a Muslim setting (no. 63). The combination of Greek with supposedly Persian wisdom was no doubt accomplished already in the eighth century and thus antedates any actual Arabic florilegia known to us. Persian ascriptions in general may conceal material of Hellenistic origin (cf. nos. 14 and 50 where other sources ascribe sayings here provided with Greek authorities to the Persian Buzurjmihr). Everything considered, Ibn Abī 'Awn's little collection, with its haphazard variety of quotations, gives the impression of being a scholar's notes taken from more than one source.

The other basic problem confronting us here as well as in all the other collections of wisdom sayings preserved in Arabic, is the relationship to Greek sources. Greek origin is obvious wherever we can trace Greek parallels,[13] but how about the sayings for which we have no such parallels? There are three criteria helping us to establish Greek origin in those cases or, at the very least, make it likely. In the first place, an author close to the heyday of Graeco-Arabic translation activity can be taken at his word when he claims to present Greek material. At least, in view of the source situation he encountered in the Arabic literary tradition, he himself would have been convinced that he was dealing with material of Greek origin. He may, of course, have been mistaken in his belief, but this would hardly have been a frequent occurrence. Living in an environment steeped in Hellenistic patterns of thought and style, he would also have been perfectly capable of freely inventing sayings and attributing them to Greek sages, but respectable authors did not do such things any more than we would today, except for situations that called for fiction (as in the early portions of Ḥunayn's *Nawādir).*

In the second place, Greek names as authorities amount to almost a guarantee of a Greek connection. Common names such as Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Diogenes, etc., could have been attached to a saying intentionally or by mistake, just as someone today might misattribute a quotation. Yet, invention or false pretense is unlikely to have been at play where less usual or downright strange Greek names appear, as, for instance, in the case of the Sicilian cook of no. 86. As is well known from Greek florilegia, an authority's name may be mentioned once and the following sayings be left without a specific name, thus giving the impression that they, too, go back to the same authority. This procedure may have led to confusion also in Arabic collections; Arabic authors especially were sorely tempted to omit foreign names which neither they nor their intended audience could read properly. If, like Ibn Abī 'Awn, they were not themselves translators, there was no real incentive for them to retain ambiguous Greek names. Their retention thus is an indication of their origin.

Finally, Greek origin can be established with a great measure of probability through criteria based upon a combination of form and content, although this procedure has its pitfalls. Occasionally, the Arabic form of a saying seems extremely jejune, if not outright primitive. A saying may be barely comprehensible in its Arabic wording, or it may be extremely commonplace, so that one wonders how it could have impressed a sophisticated author (for instance, nos. 5, 38, 43, 54, 57, 64, 71, 76, 79, 80). Sayings of the sort may render Greek statements that possessed some noteworthy feature, such as a play on words. That made them

12. I regret that among the works cited by Yousef in her edition, neither al-Ābī's *Nathr ad-durr* nor az-Zamakhsharī's *Rabī'* were available to me. Other additional references are of less interest here, since I am mainly concerned with the Greek sources. A complete discussion of each individual saying and its history would require a discussion about as long as this article in most cases.

13. The Arabic text in these cases may contribute some information, cf. the comments on, for instance, nos. 23, 26, and 37. The Greek originals are sometimes invaluable for the correct understanding of the Arabic, cf., for instance, no. 87.

remarkable in the original language but could have easily eluded translators into a fundamentally different one. Examples of this situation, where, however, the translation was quite successful, are no. 88 and, possibly, no. 75.

Taking all the mentioned criteria into consideration, we gain this rough and preliminary picture of the source situation for the ninety-five (ninety-six) sayings collected by Ibn Abī 'Awn: Greek prototypes are certain for forty sayings (nos. 3, 7-10, 12-15, 19, 20, 22-26, 28-33, 35-37, 41, 42, 53, 61, 65, 68, 74, 77, 84, 87-91, 94). Greek origin is a strong likelihood for twenty-six sayings (nos. 1, 2, 4-6, [9a], 21, 27, 34, 38, 40, 43, 53, 58, 58-60, 62, 64, 75, 76, 78, 85, 86, 92, 93, 95). Greek origin is quite likely in twenty cases (nos. 11, 18, 39, 45-50, 52, 63, 66, 67, 69, 71, 72, 79-82). The situation is doubtful in the remaining ten cases, half of which are attributed to Persian authorities (nos. 16, 17, 44, 51, 55-57, 70, 73, 83).

The classification, of course, is often not fully certain, but it would seem that Greek origin can in fact be posited for eighty-six sayings. If this is approximately correct, Ibn Abī 'Awn has preserved for us a good deal of previously unknown Greek thought, much of it in the category of jokes and witticisms which deserves the attention of modern anthropologists as well as Classicists.

TRANSLATION

Greek Sources cited in abbreviation

Ant. Mel.	: Antonius Melissa, in Migne, *Patrol. Graeca* 136
Arsenius	: *Violetum*, ed. C. Walz (Stuttgart 1832)
DL	: Diogenes Laertius
Flor. Ar.	: H. Schenkl, "Das Florilegium *Ariston kai prōton mathēma*," in *Wiener Studien*, 8 (1886), 262-81
Flor. Monac.	: in Arsenius, 494-512
Flor. Paris.	: J. Freudenthal, "Zu Favorinus und der mittelalterlichen Florilegienliteratur", in *Rheinisches Museum*, 35 (1880), 408-30
Flor. Vind.	: cited from my commentary on Ibn Durayd
Gnom. Vat.	: L. Sternbach, *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (Berlin 1963, reprinted from *Wiener Studien*, 9-11 [1887-89])
Max. Conf.	: Pseudo-Maximus Confessor, in Migne, *Patrol. Graeca* 91
Plutarch	: refers to the *Moralia*, unless otherwise indicated
Stob.	: Stobaeus, ed. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense, reprinted in five volumes (Berlin 1958).

Arabic sources cited in abbreviation

Gutas	: D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation* (New Haven 1975. American Oriental Series 60), with an edition of *Kalām al-ḥukamā' al-arba'ah* from Ms. Aya Sofya 2460
Ḥunayn	: See above, n. 6
IDurayd	: See above, n. 1
IHindū	: See above, n. 10
IQutaybah	: *'Uyūn* (reprint Cairo 1963-64)
'Iqd	: Ibn 'Abdrabbih, ed. A. Amīn, A. Zayd, and I. al-Ibyārī (Cairo 1940 ff. and reprinted at various times)
Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*	: ed. Cairo 1323-25 and ed. Hārūn (Cairo, ca. 1938-45, and reprinted at various times)
Miskawayh	: *Jāwīdhān Khiradh (al-Ḥikmah al-khālidah)*, ed. 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Badawī (Cairo 1952)
Mub.	: al-Mubashshir, see above, n. 9
Ms. Köprülü	: See Gutas, 43-50
Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt*	: Būlāq 1286-87
Shahrastānī	: See above, n. 8
Shahrazūrī	: *Nuzhat al-arwāḥ*, ed. S. Khurshīd Aḥmed (Hyd. 1396/1976)
Ṣiwān	: See above, n. 7
Tawḥ.	: *Baṣā'ir*, ed. Wadād al-Qāḍī, see above, n. 11. Originally I used the edition of I. al-Kaylānī (Damascus, n. y. [ca. 1966 ff.])

1/664)[14] A philosopher was told, Don't look, and he closed his eyes. He was told, Don't listen, and he blocked off his ears. He was told, Don't talk, and he put his hand upon his mouth. But when he was told, Don't know,[15] he said: (That) I can't (do).[16]

14. The second number is that of Yousef's edition.

15. Hardly, "don't learn" *(ta'allam = tata'allam)*. *Ṣiwān* and Shahrastānī agree on reading "lips" for "mouth."

16. "That" *('alā dhālika* or *'alayhi)* is not found in Ibn Abī 'Awn or *Ṣiwān* and Shahrastānī. Its absence is no doubt original.

Greek sources: None
Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 73, 11. 1492-94 (Democritus)
IHindū, 130 (anonymous)
Tawḥ., V, 33 (anonymous)
Shahrastānī, 306 (Democritus), with added comments, see F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaemeniden,* I, 190 f. (Frankfurt a/M 1963)
Comments: Ancient Near Eastern origin is a likelihood here, but translation from the Greek is quite probable.

2/665) A stupid person asked (in a gathering of Socrates and his students): Who is Socrates?[17] His students asked (Socrates): Please, let us take care of him! But (Socrates) said: He who permits evil to be done is not a sage.

Arabic parallels in IHindū, 86, and Gutas, 110 and 326

3/666) When Socrates was led to his death, a spectator said: Those who sentenced yoy have wronged you. (Socrates) replied: We are in dire need of someone like you to attest to our innocence. But when he saw that the man's hair was dyed. he said: It is not permissible in legal proceedings to accept the testimony of one who has "lie" written all over his head.
Greek sources: Aelian, *Varia Historia,* VII, 20; Plutarch, *Regum et imperatorum apophthegmata,* 178F; Stob., III, 12-19 Vol. III, 447)
Arabic parallels: Gutas, 98 and 304 f. (Socrates, no. 25) is a much more detailed but otherwise quite similar version
Comments: The setting of most of the Greek versions, discussed by Gutas, is quite different. Only Plutarch provides, as here, a legal setting by speaking of a *dikastēs* and the individual's potential involvement in "affairs" *(apiston en thrixi mē nomizein axiopiston en pragmasin).* The combination with Socrates is farfetched and unlikely to have existed in Greek. However, a Greek original much closer to the Arabic text can be assumed to have existed.

4/667) Socrates who had few possessions was told by some king how poor he (Socrates) was. He replied: If you knew what poverty really is, worry about your own poverty would divert you from worrying about Socrates.
Comments: No Greek source has as yet been identified. The numerous Arabic versions are discussed in detail by Gutas, 85 and 277 ff. (Socrates, no. 3a).

17. That is, who in the world is Socrates? Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī 'Awn has Hippocrates and continues with "One of his students..."

5/668) A philosopher was told: Eject that grief from your heart! He replied (that he could not do that, because): It was not by permission that it entered.
Greek sources: None
Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 27, 1. 415 (Thales)
IHindū, 130 (anonymous)
Mub., 324 (anonymous)

6/669) Someone told Socrates that he had mentioned him to someone, and that person did not know him. (Socrates) replied: It is harmful to him that he does not know me, and it is harmful to him that I do not know him. For I do not care to know[18] a mean person, and only a mean person would not know someone like me.
Greek sources: None
Arabic parallels: IHindū, 89 (Socrates), has exactly the same text but omits the second half of the last sentence, presumably a copyist's mistake
Mub., 112 (Socrates), has "it harmful to him ... and it is not harmful to me." One of the variant readings found in Mub. manuscripts is a questionable "and it is not harmful to me that does not know me," found in Ms. Ahmet III and Shahrazūrī. The saying is also quoted elsewhere in various forms.

7/670) Diogenes[19] was seen eating in the street. Asked why he was doing that, he replied: I was hungry in the street, so I ate in the street.

18. Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī 'Awn reads, no doubt incorrectly, "I can dispense with *(ghanī 'an)* knowing."

19. The puzzling spelling 'ydj'ns found throughout in Aḥmad's edition has been replaced by the ordinary one in Yousef following the Berlin manuscript, but in no. 86/750, the Berlin ms., too, has 'ydj'ns. In 86/750, some name other than Diogenes may be meant. The divergent spelling of the well known name requires explanation. In Mub. 309, Diogenes appears in the form 'wj'ns, cf. Rosenthal, *Heritage,* 88 and 274, no. 19; the possibility of a Syriac intermediary suggested there seems hardly applicable here.

Greek sources: DL, VI, 58 (Socrates). Cf. Gnom. Vat., no. 196

Arabic parallels: Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān,* ed. Hārūn, I, 288 f. (Rīsīmus/Zosimus). Cf. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam,* 264 (London 1975)
IHindū, 108 (Diogenes), abridged
Tawḥ. VIII, 43 (Diogenes)
Mub., 78 (Diogenes)

Comments: IHindū, Tawḥ., Mub., as well as Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī ʿAwn, all omit "so I ate in the street." The agreement with al-Jāḥiẓ appears to be a coincidence.

8/671) A philosopher, asked what he had gained from wisdom, replied: To do what I am obliged to do voluntarily.

Greek sources: DL, V, 20 (Aristotle)
Gnom. Vat., no. 417 (Xenocrates)
Max. Conf., 825B (Kapion = Ateius Capito?)
Arsenius, 306 (Hiero), 121 (Aristotle)
See *Heritage,* 126.

Arabic parallels: Ḥunayn, 147 (Fyln)
Ṣiwān, 97, 11. 2060 f. (Fyln); *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 14b, among the sayings of Aristotle (being followed by no. 18/682, below), and fol. 47a (Fyln) (being preceded by no. 31/695)
IHindū, 130, exactly as here
Mub., 298 (Fyln)

Comments: The Arabic sources other than Ibn Abī ʿAwn, *Ṣiwān* Fatih, and IHindū, expand "voluntarily" by adding "and not forced by law," as is expressly stated in the Greek sources. Thus we have here an omission shared by Ibn Abī ʿAwn and IHindū (and *Ṣiwān* Fatih). The implication of "obligation" is, of course, legal obligation; the express reference to law could be an inner-Arabic clarification, but given the Greek sources, this is highly unlikely.

9/672) A mean-spirited man of noble birth reproached Socrates on account of his descent.[20] Socrates told him: You may say that my descent is a taint on me, but you are a taint on your descent.

Greek sources: Stob., IV, 30 (Vol. V, 732).
Flor. Ar., 30 (Socrates), where *goneis* replaces the variations of *genos* found elsewhere.
Ant. Mel., 1165D. Arsenius, 437 (Socrates)

Arabic parallels: Isḥāq b. Ḥunayn (?), in Ms. Köprülü, fol. 9a ('n'khws, clearly Anacharsis)
Ṣiwān Fatih, fol. 7b (Socrates)
Mub. 100 (Socrates). "Mean-spirited" *(waḍīʿ an-nafs)* is not found in Mub., who, however, on the same page has a version of no. 9a/673 which has *waḍīʿ al-khalāʾiq.*

Comments: The variant *goneis* as against *genos* is reflected in *Ṣiwān,* indicating the existence of two different translations.

9a/673) Someone else approached Diogenes on account of his mean descent. He replied: My own nobility starts with me, while yours ends with you.

Comments: This saying appears in Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī ʿAwn. It is hard to say whether it belongs to the original text or is a later addition. Mub., 80 (Diogenes) has "mother" for "descent," but the Spanish translation of Mub. has *su linaje.*

10/674) Diogenes traveled together with a well-to-do person. When they were confronted on the road by robbers, the rich man exclaimed: It will be bad for me if they recognize me. Diogenes, however, exclaimed: It will be bad for me if they do not recognize me.

Greek sources: DL, IV, 48 (Bion)

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 89 f., 11. 1897 f. (also Fatih, fol. 45a, where the authority cited may be Isocrates (?), cf. Rosenthal, *Heritage,* 37, n. 26, but see IHindū and Mub.
IHindū, 117 (Crates)
Mub., 97 (Socrates)

11/675) When some people asked a sage why he did not enter into conversation with them, he replied: A person profits from his ear, while it is someone else who profits from his tongue.

Greek sources: None

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 133 (anonymous)
Elsewhere, it appears as a bedouin saying, see

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20. Credited to the Stoic Zeno in DL, VII, 23; Stob. III, 36 (Vol., III, 694 f.). Cf. J. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta,* I, 68 f., where reference is made to Plutarch, *de garrulitate,* 502C and *de audiendo,* 39B.

The newly elected mayor of Hamden, Connecticut, mentioned the saying on two ears against only one mouth as wisdom he learned from his grandmother *(The Hamden Chronicle,* December 2, 1987). A cartoon depicting husband and wife entitled The Lockhorns and published in the *New Haven Register,* of August 2, 1976, bears the caption: "But I have two ears and only one mouth, so I *have* to talk twice as much to even things out!" Good examples of the ways in which ancient wisdom lives on!

Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn,* II, 177; Tawḥ., VIII, 12 (in a passage from Aḥmad b. aṭ-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī); Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* I, 41. In all of them, it is followed or preceded by the famous saying of two ears-one tongue, itself clearly of Greek origin.[20]

12/676) When a philosopher was asked why philosophers do not disdain to learn from anybody, he replied: Because we know that knowledge is useful wherever it is encountered.

Greek sources: There does not seem to be a direct prototype, but the remark is clearly based upon that by Isocrates *(ad Demonicum,* near end, quoted Stob., II, 31 [Vol. II, 217] that those desiring an education "must collect what is useful from everywhere."[21] The comparison, in this connection, with bees, which became common in Antiquity,[22] is passed up here, but it was paraphrased elsewhere in Arabic, for instance, Mub., into., 3. See IDurayd, no. XXIV.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 44, 11. 794 ff. (paraphrase in the name of Aristotle)
IHindū, 130 (anonymous) has the same text as Ibn Abī 'Awn
Mub., 198 (Aristotle) also has the same text

13/677) A philosopher saw a man carrying away stones which he had prepared for building (rebuilding/repairing) his house. The man felt embarrassed and said: I did not know that they belonged to me, you also did not know that they did not belong to you.

Greek sources: Stob., III, 13, 52 (Vol. III, 464), phrases the statement as a discussion between Demosthenes and a thief
Flor. Ar., 24, has an anonymous individual talking to someone who was stealing his stones
Max. Conf., 857A

Arabic parallels: Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān,* I, 290, has a much expanded story in the name of Rīsīmus. Cf. *Heritage,* 263
IHindū, 130 (anonymous), has a rather different text and phrases the reply as a question, as is probably not intended in Ibn Abī 'Awn

Comments: IHindū reads, "saw a man carrying property he had stolen. He felt embarrassed..." Ms. Aya So-fya (above, n. 10), however, reads, "carrying stones..." Since Stob. does not mention "stones" while another Greek source does, IHindū possibly knew two different versions and noted the variant readings in the margin of his work.

14/678) Diogenes was asked what the best[23] time was for eating. He replied: He who can[24] (may eat) whenever he desires.[25] He who cannot (may eat) whenever he finds (something[26] to eat).

Greek sources: DL, VI, 40 (Diogenes), contrasts a rich man with a poor man and specifically refers to breakfast/lunch

Arabic parallels: Ḥunayn, 115 (Diogenes), omits "time" and uses *ghadhā'* for *ṭa'ām/akl* of the other sources. The original reading may have been *ghadā'* "breakfast/lunch" as in DL
'Iqd, VI, 307, has Buzurjmihr but is close to Ibn Abī 'Awn
IHindū, 106 and 113 (both Diogenes), with the second passage very close to Ibn Abī 'Awn
Mub., 74 (Diogenes), is very close to IHindū, 113

Comments: Although proof is still missing, it would seem that two Arabic versions existed since old times which were the result of two different translations or were made from different Greek sources. In the Arabic tradition, they then influenced each other.

15/679) Someone slandered Diogenes, who made no reply. Asked about it, (Diogenes) said: If a dog barks at you, would you bark back at it, or if a donkey kicks you, would you kick back?

Greek sources: None, it seems, mentions barking back, but quite a few praise Socrates for his refusal to stoop so low as to kick back a donkey or mule. See Plutarch, *de liberis educandis,* 10C, and *peri askēseōs* (J. Gildemeister, in *Rheinisches Museum,* N.F., 27 [1872], 528); DL, II, 21. See also Plutarch, *de*

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21. *Ad Demonicum* existed in Syriac translation, and quotations in the Arabic florilegia under the name of Socrates have been identified by I. Alon, in *Israel Oriental Studies,* 6 (1976), 224-28.

22. Cf., e.g., T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces,* 152 f. (Stockholm 1964).

23. *Aḥmad; 'Iqd: aṣlaḥ;* IHindū, 113: *afḍal.*

24. Ibn Abī 'Awn, *'Iqd,* and IHindū, 113, use the root *qdr.* Elsewhere, we find *mkn.*

25. Only here and IHindū, 113, do we find the root *shhw.* Elsewhere, it is "is hungry."

26. The pronominal suffix *(wajadahū)* is found here and in Ḥunayn, but the Berlin manuscript of Ibn Abī 'Awn shows *wajada* as elsewhere.

cohibenda ira, 457A; Gnom. Vat., no. 500. Tawḥīdī and Miskawayh, *Hawāmil,* 185 (Cairo 1370/1951), refer to Galen as their source

Arabic Parallels: Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān,* I, 290 (Rīsīmus), cf. *Heritage,* 264. The version is generally enlarged and includes kicking and barking (in this order). See also below, no. 29/693

16/680) Buzurjmihr was asked about the gravest faults. He replied: Self-importance *('ujb)* and stubbornness *(lajāj).*

Arabic parallels: Miskawayh, 80

Comments: Mub. 68 (cf. also Ms. Köprülü, fol. 117b-118a) quotes Pythagoras as listing *'ajālah, lajājah, 'ujb,* and *tawānī* as four things to be avoided. *'Ujb* may correspond to Greek *hyperēphania* as *megiston kakon* in human beings, cf. Flor. Ar., 35, or it may be compared to *typhos.* For the many shades of meaning of *lajāj, lajājah,* see M. Ullmann's Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache, letter L, 220 ff.

17/681) Anūsharwān asked one of his mobeds[27] what a good child was useful for. (The mobed) replied: For making life a pleasure for you and for making death easy to bear.

Arabic parallels: Mub., 324 (anonymous) has, "for making death a pleasure." However, the Western recension of Mub. has the same text as Ibn Abī 'Awn, indicating a homoioteleuton omission in the manuscripts of the Eastern recension used for the edition of Mub.

18/682) Someone asked a sage whether he thought it would be good for him to learn horsemanship. (The sage) replied: It is your life. Do with it whatever you want!

Arabic parallels: Gutas, 198 and 415 (Aristotle, no. 70), who further refers to *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 14b and IHindū, 130 (anonymous).

Comments: The existence of a Greek prototype cannot be doubted. It may be noted that the idea of spending one's life without regard for intellectual and spiritual improvement is rather outside the Platonic-Aristotelian mainstream of Greek philosophy.

27. The Berlin manuscript offers *asāwirah* "horsemen, knights."

19/683) When Diogenes was asked why the color of gold was yellow/pale, he replied: Its enemies are many, so it turned yellow/pale from disquiet.

Greek sources: DL, VI, 51 (Diogenes)
Gnom. Vat., no. 172 (Diogenes), where additional references are given. See Flor. Ar., 16; Flor. Monac., 504; Max. Conf., 797B

Arabic parallels: Ibn Hindū, 110 (Diogenes)

Comments: The reply in IHindū reads, "because of the great number of enemies and from fear that it might be tied up and buried in the ground." Since Ibn Abī 'Awn's text corresponds to the Greek, IHindū's text, unless confirmed by some Greek source, may represent an expansion within the Arabic tradition.

20/684) A bald man told outrageous lies about Diogenes. (Diogenes) retorted: I think your hair has been lucky to escape from this bad skull of yours.

Greek sources: Flor. Ar., 25 (anonymous); Flor. Monac., 507 (Euripides); Ant. Mel., 1165D (Democritus?); Max. Conf., 785D (Diogenes). Inspite of the different attributions, the texts differ only insignificantly from one another. Note the attribution to Diogenes in Max. Conf.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 29b (Diogenes).
IHindū, 109 and 112 (both Diogenes)

Comments: The joke was too good to let it pass without trying to improve on its delivery, which explains the differences in the Arabic texts. They are, however, certain to go back to one translation. This is so despite an addition in the Aya Sofya manuscript of Ibn Hindū, 109: "This remark is (also) translated in another way, namely, that he said: Your hair is blessed for having separated from the evil skull" *(wa-yutarjam hādhā l-kalām 'alā wajh ākhar wa-huwa annahū qāla min sa'ādat sha'arika annahū fāraqa jumjumat as-saw').* "Translation" here probably means another version which originated within the Arabic tradition.

21/685) In a public bath, Diogenes saw a rich man who was being served by many servants, while he was doing nothing for himself. (Diogenes) remarked: I wonder why he has nobody to sit for him in the (hot) basin.[28]

28. Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī 'Awn appears to have the correct reading *al-abzan* "bathtub,"

Greek sources: None

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 32b, describes the services rendered by the bath attendants as massaging and pouring water over him

Tawḥ., II, 94, phrases the story rather differently and concludes, "I wonder why you did not prepare for someone to go into the basin in your place."

Comments: As this is certainly a Greek joke, it is surprising that no Greek source should be extant.

22/686) Diogenes asked a spendthrift to give him a mina of gold. The man asked him why he was asking him for such a large sum, when he was used to ask others for a handful of copper coins.[29] (Diogenes) replied: Because I have hopes that the others will again give me something at some other time. In your case, I have no hope (that I shall get from you anything)[30], because your money will not stay with you.

Greek sources: DL, VI, 67 (Diogenes)

Stob., III, 15, 9 (Vol. III, 478) (Diogenes). Also Arsenius, 209; Max. Conf., 988A-B

Arabic paralles: IDurayd, no. IX (Diogenes)

IHindū, 111 (Diogenes)[31]

Comments: IDurayd and IHindū are closer to one another than either is to Ibn Abī ʿAwn. The term for the coin as originally translated may have struck Arabic authors as strange and therefore have been variously replaced. "Gold" here where the other versions have silver is going a bit too far.

23/687) A young man looked at him while he[32] was exhorting a whore.

which also appears in Tawḥ. *Ṣiwān* seems to have thought of *īwān* (?). *Al-at(t)ūn* means "stoke room" and nothing else. H. Grotzfeld, *Das Bad im arabisch-islamischen Mittelalter,* 31, 33, 142 (Wiesbaden 1970), refers to "hot room" with a "Nebenraum, in dem sich ein Tauchbecken *(abzan, ḥawḍ, mi/aghṭas)* befindet."

29. For *ḥafnah* "handful," another manuscript has *ḥabbah* "grain." Parallel versions have *al-ḥabbah wa-l-fals* "grains and coppers" to translate *obolos (triōbolon)*. *Ḥafnah* is certainly not original, and the construct *ḥabbat al-fals* also makes little sense. An original **al-ḥabbah wa-l-fals* may have been misread *al-ḥabbah al-fals* and then changed to *ḥabbat al-fals;* eventually, it was corrected to a seemingly possible *ḥafnat al-fals.*

30. The words in brackets appear in Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī ʿAwn. They seem slightly closer to DL, which uses an untranslatable Greek idiom.

31. The wretched printed text of IHindū inserts a meaningless *zīnat (mālihī).* It somehow found its way from the preceding saying in IHindū (where the necessary *jasadihī,* as in Ms. Aya Sofya, is omitted).

32. The correct text as translated is found in Ms. Berlin.

Asked what he was doing, (Diogenes) replied: I am washing an Ethiopian. Maybe he will become white.

Greek sources: Ant. Mel. 1034C-D, where action and punchline go to Diogenes. Ant. Mel. has *tina ponēron* "a scoundrel." Did the translator misread *ponēron* as *pornon* and interpret it as *pornon?* It is, how-ever, also possible that *ponēron* was an intentional or unintentional bowdlerizing of *pornon* in the preserved Greek text

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 111 (Diogenes), has about the same text, but the saying does not appear in the Aya Sofya manuscript[33]

Comments: Greek works discussing the famous proverbial expression of washing blacks *(Aithiopa smēchein)* do not report the story as told here. See Lucian, *Adversus indoctum,* 28, and the paroemiographers Zenobius and Diogenianus and others, cf. *Paroimiographi Graeci,* I, 46 f., and the articles by L. Cohn, O. Crusius, and H. Jungblut, reprinted in *Paroimiographorum Graecorum... Suppl.,* nos. I, 33, IV, 230. 239, 257, VI, 416 (Hildesheim 1961), further Liddle-Scott, s.v. *smēchō,* and Arsenius, 28.

24/688) When Diogenes saw a stupid man sitting upon a stone, he exclaimed: A stone upon a stone!

Greek sources: DL, II, 72 (Aristippus)

Arabic parallels: IDurayd, no. XII

IHindū, 108 (Diogenes)

Mub., 77 (Diogenes)

Comments: The slight divergences within the Arabic textes are no doubt inner-Arabic developments. We have here a greatly simplified version of DL, probably derived from some Greek florilegium

25/689) Socrates (?)[34] was asked why he had married an ugly woman, being himself handsome. He replied: I have chosen the least evil.

Greek sources: They more appropriately indicate a contrast between small and big, not one between ugly and handsome. Even in the Arabic tradition, Socrates was not considered handsome. Plutarch, *de fraterno amore,*

33. Tawḥ., *al-Imtāʿ wa-l-muʾānasah,* I, 148 f. (Cairo 1939-44), refers to the proverb.

34. Suqrāṭīs is in fact not found in the manuscripts. The numerous Greek names with *krts* as their second element are easily mixed up in Arabic. It could be Democritus.

481F-482A (Lakōn), has no descriptive "big" or the like. Flor. Ar., 15 (Democritus), also Ant. Mel., 1092A-B (Democritus); Arsenius, 120.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 7b, omits "handsome" but otherwise has the same text as here. *Ṣiwān,* 91, 11. 1942 f., has "small" and is rather different; it includes the remark in a brief section ascribed to "the rhetor 'st'ns, possible Demosthenes
IHindū, 116 (Democritus, Democrates), has almost the same text

26/690) A philosopher wrote upon his door: May no evil enter this house! Diogenes commented: Where, then, can your wife enter?

Greek sources: Gnom. Vat., no. 564, puts the rejoinder into the mouth of an Attic woman. The Arabic suggests reading *sou* for *ou* in the somewhat dubious text there. See also Flor. Vind., no. 167, and Arsenius, 206. A different elaboration of the same idea found in other Greek works attributes the rejoinder to Diogenes, cf. DL, VI, 39, and the references given in Gnom. Vat.

Arabic parallels: IDurayd, no. XXIII, where the speaker is "an old woman from the philosophers of Attica"
Ṣiwān Fatih, as in IDurayd but omitting Attica
IHindū, 131, also refers to the old woman from Attica but omits the philosophers

Comments: The wording in the much quoted saying tends to differ from text to text. The Arabic is abridged as compared to the preserved Greek. The eventual omission of the old woman may reflect a reluctance to make a woman the author of a misogynic witticism. The introduction of the philosophers may be due to an automatic reflex to the mention of Attica, possibly in the Oriental, rather than the Greek tradition.

27/691) Alexander was given a clay vessel as a gift. He approved of it(s beauty) but then ordered it smashed. Asked why, he said: I have broken one of the things which servants constantly break one by one, and every time I get angry. I have thus relieved myself all at once.

Greek sources: Cf. G. Levi Della Vida, "Alessandro il Macedone, Kotys l'Odrysio e al-Bīrūnī," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb,* 410-15 (Cambridge. Mass., 1965), with reference to Plutarch, *Regum et Imperatorum Apophthegmata,* 174D; further, *de cohibenda ira,* 461E-F, quoted in Arabic translation by Mub., 322, see *Heritage,* 114, as well as the anecdote of Nero and the crystal tent, for which see al-Kindī, *Fī l-ḥīlah li-daf' al-aḥzān,* ed. trans. H. Ritter and R. Walzer, *Uno scritto morale inedito de al-Kindī,* para. IX, 6 (Roma 1938. Mem. R. Accad. Lincei, VI, viii, I)

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 54, 11. 1021-24 (Alexander), phrased more elegantly, and al-Bīrūnī, *al-Jamāhir fī ma'rifat al-jawāhir,* 187 (Hyd. 1355), where the anecdote of Nero's crystal tent is also reported, with reference to Plutarch, *de ira.* Cf. also G. Strohmaier, "Ethical sentences and anecdotes of Greek philosophers," in *Actes du Ve Congrès Intern. d'Arabisants et d'Islamisants, Bruxelles 1970,* 470.

28/692) Asked what was the thing most difficult for man, Aristotle replied: Keeping silent.

Greek sources: Listed in IDurayd, no. XX, and by Gutas, 168 and 390 (Aristotle, no. 18)

Arabic parallels: IDurayd and Gutas, loc. cit.
Ṣiwān, 44, 11. 777 f. (Plato)
IHindū, 66 (Aristotle)

Comments: The attribution to Aristotle appears in the basic Greek sources and in Arabic with the exception of *Ṣiwān.* The Arabic texts vary between *as'ar* (Ibn Abī 'Awn; IDurayd) and *aṣ'ab,* the former possibly the more original, and the latter more colloquial. The noun *siōpē* is found in Flor. Monac., 505 (Demetrius); the verb as here is employed elsewhere. Sometimes (Stob., III, 41, 8 [Vol. III, 759]; Max. Conf., 847A; Arsenius, 122), the statement is restricted by the addition of *ha mē dei lalein* which has its prototype in *ta aporrēta* (Flor. Vind., no. 157 [Chilon]). This addition appears in *Ṣiwān,* 96, ll. 2050 f., in a different saying ascribed to Aristarchus, or Solon according to *Ṣiwān,*
Fatih, fol. 36a: "... to refrain from what must not be spoken," sporting the ordinary translation of *aporrēta.* Cf. IDurayd, no. LV.

29/693) Socrates, passing a man, was kicked by him. He said to him: Hey you! You did something similar to what donkeys do.

Comments: See above, no. 15/679. Being a duplication, this saying does not appear in Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī 'Awn.

30/694) Aristotle was asked what things an intelligent person should acquire. He replied: Those that swim with him when his ship founders.

Greek sources: Galen, *Protreptikos,* I, 8 f. Kühn (Aristippus). The Arabic translation of *al-Ḥathth 'alā ta'allum aṭ-ṭibb* is apparently not preserved, see F. Sezgin, *GAS,* III, 138.
DL, VI, 6 (Antisthenes). Further, Flor. Paris., 412 (Aristippus); Max. Conf., 824D (Aristippus); Arsenius, 108 (Antisthenes), 112 (Aristippus)

Arabic parallels: IDurayd, no. XXII
Ṣiwān, 79 f. (Aristippus), following Galen
IHindū, 66 (Aristotle), 80 ("the other sage," meaning "Homer"), and 90 (Homer)
Mub., 12 (Homer) and 202 (Aristotle)

Comments: Original access to the famous statement was provided for the Arabs by Galen as well as one or more unspecified florilegia. The versions ascribed to Homer are phrased in a way that makes it clear that they follow the Galenic tradition, as found in *Ṣiwān.* Texts ascribed here to Aristotle follow the florilegium tradition. IDurayd is identical with Ibn Abī 'Awn, and so probably is IHindū, 66, where *al-fāḍil* for *al-'āqil* seems to be a textual corruption; *natajat* is a misprint.[35]

31/695) Someone was asked why he did not have children. He replied: Because of my love for children, I refrain from having any.

Greek sources: DL, I, 26 (Thales)
Stob., IV, 26, 20 (Vol. IV, 653) (Anacharsis)
Gnom. Vat., no. 509 (Solon?)

Arabic parallels: See IDurayd, no. LXXII, and Gutas, 64 and 221 f. (Pythagoras, no. 4)
Ṣiwān, 97, l.2060 (Fyln). See above, no. 8/671
IHindū, 120 (Fyln), identical with IDurayd
Mub., 325 (anonymous), nearly identical with Ibn Abī 'Awn

35. The great popularity of the saying is attested, for instance, by the fact that al-Ghazzālī quotes it in *Iḥyā',* I, 8 (Cairo 1352/1933). Paraphrased into a story it appears in Ibn Qayyim al-Jawzīyah, *Miftāḥ dār as-sa'ādah,* I, 107 (Beirut, n. y.).

Comments: The different ascriptions point to translations from different sources. As suggested by Gutas, Fyln could be Thales. IDurayd qualifies his authority as a *khaṭīb,* but the name cannot securely be deciphered, hardly a very corrupted Anacharsis.

32/696) Alexander was asked why he did not marry the wife of Darius. He replied: Being subdued by women is bad for one who has subdued men.

Greek sources: Stob. III, 3, 41 (Vol. III, 268)
Max. Conf., 742B-C
For related but different statements about Alexander, see Gnom. Vat., no. 94 (on fighting Amazons), and Plutarch, *de fortuna* (on his refraining from captured women)

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 91 f., with a slightly more substantial text
Ṣiwān Fatih, fol. 24a: "I hate for it to be said that Alexander subdued Darius, and Roshnak subdued Alexander."
Tawḥ., III, 52
Mub., 244 (with a different setting) and 246 (almost identical with IHindū)
Shahrastānī, 329, as in *Ṣiwān*

Comments: The Arabic could be understood to refer to a specific situation or (as in Stob., cf. Tawḥ.) to constitute a general reflection.
The usual reference is to the daughter(s) of Darius, and not his wife. Darius' wife and his daughters are described as equally handsome (Plutarch, *Life of Alexander,* ch. XXI), but the appearance of his wife here is likely to be a free change in the Arabic tradition. Mub. shows that there were translations from different Greek sources; in view of the wide ramification of the Alexander legend, this is hardly surprising.

33/697) When Alexander was told that there were 300,000 fighters in the army of Darius, he said: A skilful cook[36] is not afraid of the large number of sheep.

36. Here *aṭ-ṭabbākh,* but Tawḥ., IDurayd and others have *al-qaṣṣāb.* Mub. has *al-qaṣṣāb,* but the Western recension shows *aṭ-ṭabbākh.* The old Spanish translation has *carnicero* and *cocinero* (Lat. *cocus);* strangely enough, the former would seem to belong to the Spanish text closer to the Arabic original.
Since "cook" does not make much sense in the context, it would, for this reason alone,

Greek sources: Flor. Ar., 12; Ant. Mel., 904C; Max. Conf., 1017C
Arabic parallels: IHindū, 92, with a rather different text, followed by no. 35/699 below
Tawḥ., II, 93, corresponds closely to IHindū; cf. also I, 83
Mub., 244, is close to Ibn Abī 'Awn[37]
Comments: Tawḥ. and IHindū have 30,000, for the ten myriads of the Greek and 300,000 of the other Arabic sources, possibly suggesting two different strains within the Arabic tradition.

34/698) A philosopher was asked what he thought of his son. He replied: If he is not drunk, he is as I want him to be. If he is drunk, he is as the wine wants him to be.
Greek sources: None
Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 96, 11. 2051 f. (Aristarchus)
IHindū, 132 (anonymous)

35/699) When it was suggested to Alexander that he attack Darius by night,[38] he said: It is not like kings to gain victory by stealth.[39]
Greek sources: Max. Conf., 745C-D. Cf. also Arsenius, 95
Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* Fatih, fol. 26b
IHindū, 92
Tawḥ., I, 92
Mub., 246
Comments: With the exception of Ibn Abī 'Awn, the Arabic texts start with, "Alexander was advised," or "his generals advised him." The reply is always worded differently.

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appear to be the original translation of *mageiros.* At various points of the Arabic tradition, "butcher" may have been substituted by authors or copyists who thought "cook" out of place. Now, *mageiros* means both butcher and cook, and so does Hebrew and Aramaic *ṭabbākh.* Arabic *ṭabbākh,* however, was specialized as "cook." Cf. W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Geez,* 585 f. (Wiesbaden 1987), who refers to P. Fronzaroli, *Studi sul lessico comune semitico,* part VIII (Rome 1971-72. Rendiconti Accad. Naz. Lincei, Scienze mor., stor. e filol., VIII, xxvi), p. 620. While the choice of *ṭabbākh* is strange here, it is not necessary to assume Aramaic influence.

37. *'z* in Mub. is a misprint for *'askar.*

38. Ibn Abī 'Awn: *bayyatta Dārā; Ṣiwān: bi-binyān* (read *bi-bayāt) madīnah;* IHindū: *bi-bayāt al-Furs:* Tawḥ.: *bi-l-bayāt fī ba'ḍ al-ḥurūb;* Mub. *bi-tabyīt al-Furs.*

39. Lit., "stealing victory" *(lā yushbih al-mulūk sariqat al-ghalabah),* as in Greek. IHindū: *laysa yalīqu li-l-malik* (read *bi-l-malik?) an yasriqa li-ẓ-ẓafar* (read *aẓ-ẓafar);* Tawḥ.: *laysa min āyīn al-mulk (malik, mulūk) istirāq aẓ-ẓafar;* Mub.: *lā aj'alu ghalabatī sariqah.*

This is a good example of the ways in which knowledge of the Greek original makes it easier to decode the Arabic.

Darius is named only here, among the texts mentioned. IHindū and Mub.: "Persians; *Ṣiwān:* "a city"; Tawḥ.: "in some war" which is closest to the "enemies" of the Greek. Greek *ou basilikon esti kleptein tēn nikēn* is rendered least literally in Mub. In general, however, all versions seem to go back to one and the same translation; only the identification of further Greek sources might force us to change this view.

36/700) A philosopher,[40] asked why he (did not mind) dying in a foreign country, replied: There is no difference between dying in a foreign country or at home, because the road to[41] the other world is the same from all places.
Comments: The numerous occurences in Greek, with attributions to Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Aristippus, and Diogenes, and in Arabic (Anaxagoras, Pythagoras), listed in part to IDurayd, no. XXX, have been carefully studied by Gutas, 80 f. and 264 ff. (Pythagoras, no. 33). There is no need to repeat them here. Ibn Abī 'Awn's introduction is a stripped down version, similar to what we find in Mub., 325. Attention may be called to the Greek version attributed to Aristippus and embedded in a quotation from Teles, see Stob., III, 60, 8 (Vol. III, 746 f.); E.N. O'Neil, *Teles,* 30 f. (Missoula, Montana, 1977), and below, no. 40/704.

37/701) Someone addressed a philosopher as having bad breath. The philosopher replied: Don't be surprised by that. Many unspeakable[42] statements have rotted in my mouth. Were you to smell them, they would give off a stench that is even worse.
Greek sources: Stob., III, 41, 6 (Vol. III, 758) (Euripides). Ant. Mel., 993A, corresponds to Stob., bu seemingly ascribes the remark to Democritus (?)
Arabic parallels: None (Yousef refers to Zamakhsharī)
Comments: The last sentence is not found in Greek. It can be

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40. Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī 'Awn has "someone else."

41. The use of the idiom *al-akhdh ilā* (cf. Jörg Kraemer [ed.], *Theodor Nöldekes Belegwörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache,* I, 11a [Berlin 1952]) is unexpected and may therefore be more original than the ordinary *aṭ-ṭarīq* found elsewhere.

42. On *aporrēta,* see above, no. 28/692. It is Ms. Berlin that has *'aqāqīr* "drugs" against *aqāwīl* "statements" of the other manuscripts, perhaps thinking of the common use of drugs to prevent mouth odor.

assumed, however, to go back to the same Greek prototype.

The *ozostomos* (rarely *saprostomos,* here *to stoma dysōdes),* is made much fun of in Greek as well as in Arabic (cf. the *Philogelos,* above, n. 1). The brief section on the subject in Ibn Qutaybah, *'Uyūn,*[43] does not mention this saying, but this is hardly ground for assuming that it might not yet have been known in Arabic in his time. The saying was not just a mere joke; it was meant originally to refer to the existence among philosophers of daring ideas that could not safely be divulged.

38/702) A man invited Diogenes to dinner, and (Diogenes) accepted the invitation. However, the next time he invited him, he refused. Asked why, he said: Because he did not thank me for the first time.

Greek sources: None

Arabic parallels: Tawḥ., VIII, 27 (a philosopher), with a somewhat differently phrased introduction
IHindū, 113 (Diogenes)

Comments: This may mean that Diogenes, the philosopher, considered his acceptance of a rich man's invitation such an honor for the latter that instead of the customary expression of thanks to the host, the latter should have thanked him for accepting. Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* I, 398, however, refers to verses stating that the acceptance of an invitation gives the invitee the edge *(faḍl)* and rejection does the same for the inviter. Whatever the correct explanation, it is obvious that a witticism as obscure as this one would be the translation of some skilfully fashioned Greek statement.

39/703) Diogenes saw two men who were inseparable. Inquiring about them, he was told that they were friends. Why, then, he exclaimed, is one poor and the other rich?

Greek sources: This specific elaboration of *koina ta tōn philōn* remains to be traced in Greek

Arabic parallels: Ḥunayn, 113 (Diogenes)
IDurayd, no. XXXV, of uncertain ascription
Gutas, 70 and 243 f. (Pythagoras, n. 19)

43. Cf. F. Malti-Douglas, *Structures of Avarice,* 14 (Leiden 1985).

IHindū, 105 (Diogenes)
Mub., 77 (Diogenes). Mub., 53, refers to Pythagoras as the first to declare the property of friends to be held in common

Comments: There is some similarity between IDurayd and Gutas, on the one hand, and the text ascribed to Diogenes in Ḥunayn, IHindū, and Mub., on the other.

40/704) Teles (?) was asked: What living being is insatiable? He replied: A man making money.

Greek sources: Cf. Ant. Mel., 884B (Gregory of Nyssa?): *oudeis pote tou kerdainein ginetai koros*

Arabic parallels: IDurayd, no. XLIII *(li-*ywlys), has "merchant"
Ṣiwān, 27, l. 410 (Thales)

Comments: The correction of IDurayd's ywlys to Thales may be permissible, especially if the *Ṣiwān*'s inclusion of the remark in the Thales chapter is authentic. The spelling Ṭālīs in Ibn Abī 'Awn (unfortunately, the saying is omitted in Ms. Berlin) does not seem to be fully supported by the other manuscripts; it could possibly have been Thālīs. However, Teles, if he is meant, would be an appropriate authority, cf. Stob., IV, 33, 31 (Vol. III, 808-17); O'Neil, *Teles* (above, no. 36/700), 42 f.

41/705) Asked what rhetors were supposed to do, a philospher said: Making a small thing big by talking and making a big thing small by talking.[44]

Greek sources: Plutarch, *Isocrates* 838F (Loeb ed. X, 382 f.)
Gnom. Vat., no. 357 (Isocrates). Cf. also Gutas, 389

Arabic parallels: Tawḥ., I, 100 (Socrates, the philosopher), cf. also al-Ābī.

42/706) When Socrates was taken to his death, his wife cried. He asked her why she was crying, and she replied: You are killed wrongly. Whereupon he asked her: Would you rather want me to be killed for wrongdoing?

Comments: The Greek and Arabic data are discussed by Gutas, 96 and 300 f. (Socrates, no. 23). Cf. also the references provided in the editions of Ibn Abī

44. Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī 'Awn omits the second half.

'Awn. Greek *adikos/dikaios* is probably most originally rendered by Ibn Juljul, *Ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, 31 (Cairo 1955), as *bi-lā ḥaqq/bi-ḥaqq*.

43/707) A sage was asked: Why don't you correct your books? He replied: But who is to correct me?

Comments: The opaqueness of the remark speaks for a translation from the Greek. The reference to al-Māwardī's *Adab ad-dunyā wa-d-dīn*, 163 (Istanbul 1299), in Yousef's edition refers to the following saying.

44/708) Kisrā asked the mobed what the crown was worth. (The mobed) reflected for a while, then he said: the only comparable value I can think of is rainfall in the spring, for the livelihood of the subjects gains from it as much as the royal crown (can be considered to) be worth.

Arabic parallel in al-Māwardī (see the preceding saying)

45/709) Plato was asked: Why are you not glad when something joyful happens to you nor[45] aggrieved when something grievous happens to you? He replied: Because either condition will either leave us or we will leave it.

Comments: Until the Greek prototype is traced, one may point out that the remark seems of Stoic, rather than Platonic inspiration.

46/710) A philosopher was asked what should be left unsaid, even if it was true. He replied: A man's praise of himself.

Greek sources: There is nothing to connect Demosthenes' statement on self-praise *(On the Crown,* 128) with this saying. Plutarch, *de se ipsum citra invidiam laudando* (cf. 539D and 547D), is mainly concerned with occasions when self-praise is justified.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 103, 1. 2213 (Ammonius? Dunlop: Eumenes?)
IHindū, 133 f. (anonymous), has a slightly different text
Mub., 205 (Aristotle), exactly as here, and Mub., 325 (anonymous). A different version in Mub., 323 (anonymous)

Comments: The saying is understandably often quoted. Ancient Arabic tradition, however, was by and large not against self-praise, cf., in connection with the general subject of praise, IQutaybah, I, 276-78; Tawḥidi and Miskwayh, *Hawāmil,* 117, 308; al-'Askarī, *Furūq,* 35 (Cairo 1353); al-Ibshīhī, *Mustaṭraf,* 270 ff. (Būlāq 1268). Nevertheless, the saying could have originated in Arabic, although it is here probably of Greek origin.

45. Here we have another homoioteleuton omission in Ms. Berlin.

47/711) Asked why someone loved a songstress so passionately, Plato replied: He does not know anything better than the songstress.

48/712) Asked why those who love fame think nothing of anything else, he replied: In their ignorance, they assume that their fame will last forever.

49/713) Asked whether the body or the soul was more subject to fatigue, Socrates replied: The body, because the body gets fatigued only when the soul is in it.

Comments: Nothing comparable is found, for instance, in Plutarch's very brief *Animine an corporis affectiones sint priores,* but Plato's view on the superiority and priority of the soul with respect to the body (Timaeus 34C) point in the direction where one should look for a Greek source of the saying.

50/714) Asked whether there existed an entirely faultless human being, he replied: If there were a human being without any fault, he would be immortal.

Greek sources: None

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 62, 1. 1216 (Eudemos)
Miskawayh, 41 (the Persian Emperor Qubādh)
Tawḥ., IV, 170 (Buzurjmihr)

Comments: All the many Arabic quotations tend to have slight differences, but they have definitely the same origin, which could very well be Greek.

51/715) Buzurjmihr, asked why (the sages) do not censure the ignorant, replied: We would not expect the blind to see.

Arabic parallels: Differently phrased parallels may be found un IQutaybah, III, 103; Miskawayh, 43, etc.

52/716) When someone denounced a man to Alexander, (Alexander)

asked him whether he would want him to accept his denunciation of that man on condition that he (Alexander) would accept that man's denunciation of him. The man replied that he would not, whereupon (Alexander) said: Avoid evil, and evil will avoid you.

Arabic parallels: Ḥunayn, 80 (Aristotle and students)
IQutaybah, II, 24
Ṣiwān, 54, 11. 1018 f. (Alexander)
Mub., 204 (Aristotle and students), as in Ḥunayn. Mub. is quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, ed. A. Müller, I, 65 (Cairo-Königsberg 1882-84)

Comments: The genuine Arabic form of the punchline is no absolute deterrent to assuming a Greek connection.

53/717) Asked how a man could take revenge of his enemies, Plato replied: By making himself more virtuous.

Comments: For the different Greek sources and their Arabic versions, see IDurayd, no. LII (presumably Plato), and the detailed discussion in Gutas, 125 and 345 f. (Plato, no. 18). Mub., 132 (Plato) and 80 (Diogenes), is another good example for how translations from different sources may occasionally retain their separate existence in the same Arabic work.

54/718) Asked who were human beings, a sage replied: Those who can be used for analogy (? *yajūzu ʿalayhi al-qiyās).*

Comments: The translation is highly problematic. Basically, there are two possibilities. The one chosen here takes *ʿalayhi* as depending on *al-qiyās,* lit., "on whom *qiyās* is possible." This suggests the Protagorean man being the measure of all things. The translation of Protagoras' statement in Aristotle, Metaphysics 1053a35 (ed. M. Bouyges, 1263 ff.), uses the root *kyl,* which corresponds more directly to "measure" *(inna al-insān kayl jamīʿ al-ashyāʾ).* This, however, does not exclude the possibility that there existed another translation, presumably on the basis of some florilegium and reflected in Ibn Abī ʿAwn.

The alternative, which may be preferable, has *ʿalayhi,* instead of an expected *lahū,* depend on *yajūzu:* "for whom analogical reasoning is permissibile." This may have a likely source in the discussion of the etymology of *anthrōpos* in Plato, Cratylos 399C: *anathrōn ho opōpe.* According to Plato, only man *analogizetai* or *logizetai* what he sees. It may be noted incidentally that Plato's Cratylos is quoted in a florilegium (for *mnēmē,* see Max. Conf., 953B).

Something may be wrong with the text, but as it stands, the opacity of the Arabic supports Greek origin.

55/719) A sage wrote to another sage: Describe for me this world and the other world! The other sage wrote back: This world is a dream, and the other world is a state of wakefulness. The intermediary between them is death. We are in a state of confused reality *(aḍghāth).*

Arabic parallels: *ʿIqd,* III, 152 (ʿUmar b. ʿAbd-al-ʿAzīz and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī)
Mub., 336, as here.

Comments: The general idea is well known in Greek, but the formulation of the Arabic does not give the impression of being a translation.

56/720) Asked why philosophers keep property, Buzurjmihr replied: In order to avoid placing themselves in an unbecoming situation.[46]

57/721) Asked about the best kind of speech, a sage replied: The one that does not need speech in connection with it[47] (for explanation).

Arabic parallels: IQutaybah, II, 170
Tawḥīdī, *Imtāʿ,* II, 139 (a bedouin's reply)
Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* I, 35 has a versification ascribed to Ibn Abī Ṭāhir

58/722) Hippocrates was asked why a person gets most agitated physically when taking medicine. He replied: Just like a house where there is more dust when it is being swept.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 43a (Hippocrates)
Ibn Hindū, 99 (Hippocrates)
Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿah, I, 28 (Hippocrates)
Shahrastānī, 303

59/723) Asked what is of the most general usefulness, a sage replied: The disappearance of evil individuals.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 89 (Philistion?)
Tawḥ., IX, 80 (a philosopher)
IHindū, 133 (anonymous)
Mub., 201 (Aristotle)

46. Cf. also Ibn Abī ʿAwn, ed. Aḥmad, 55, ed. Yousef, 132, no. 799, on money as a defense of one's honor against others.

47. The Arabic prepositions are *fīhi, maʿahū,* or *baʿdahū.*

60/724) Someone told a philosopher that so-and-so had accused him of such-and-such faults. The philosopher replied: You brazenly confront me with something, with which that man himself was ashamed to face me.

Comments: This saying apparently inveighs against slanderous gossip. It remains to be traced in a Greek source, but the idea was, of course, common. Cf., for instance, Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconum,* 232 F; Stob., III, 2, 41 (Vol. III, 188); Flor. Ar., 13 and 23; Ant. Mel., 1165D; Flor. Monac., 507; Max. Conf., 785A; Arsenius, 93.

61/725) A philosopher who had been taken captive was asked by a prospective buyer what he was good for. He replied: Freedom.

Greek sources: Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconum,* 234D; *Apophth. Lacainarum,* 242D
Stob., III, 13, 58 (Vol. III, 466) (a Lacedaemonian woman)
Gnom. Vat., no. 570 (a Lacedaemonian woman)
Arsenius, 345 (Lacedaemonian), 347 (a Lacedaemonian woman)

Arabic parallels: Mub., 30 (Homer), 297 (Archigenes). Cf. Rosenthal, *Heritage,* 125, and *The Muslim Concept of Freedom,* 91, n. 284 (Leiden 1960). Mub., 297, corresponds exactly to Ibn Abī ʻAwn

Comments: Mub. proves that the remark was translated in both a biographical and a gnomic context.

62/726) Asked why so-and-so dyed (his hair and beard) black, Plato replied: He does not like to be suspected of possessing an old man's experience.

Arabic parallels: Ḥunayn, 144 (anonymous)
IHindū, 126 (apparently anonymous, not in Ms. Aya Sofya). Cf. *Heritage,* 124, n. 8
Tawḥ., VIII, 44, is different
Mub., 296 (Protarchus, Plutarch?), cf. *Heritage,* 124

63/727) The death of a son of the mobed[48] was announced in Khurāsān. Al-Faḍl b. Sahl rode out to him to express his condolences. (The mobed) said: I already knew about it, and when (al-Faḍl) asked when he knew about it, he replied: The day he was born.

Comments: This is a variant of a famous remark attributed in Greek to Anaxagoras and others. When Anaxagoras was informed that his son(s) had died, he said that he knew that he had produced mortal beings *(thnētous [thnēton] gennēsai),* cf., for instance, Galen, *de placitis Hippocratis et Platonis,* V, 418 Kühn; Plutarch, *de cohibenda ira,* 463D, *de tranquillitate animi,* 474D; DL, II, 13, 55; Stob., IV, 44, 62 (Vol. V, 974); Gnom. Vat., no. 117, where further references are given. In Arabic, too, related ideas occur in different versions, cf. Tawḥ., I, 137 (a philosopher, asked about his brother's fatal illness, said that it was his coming into existence in this world), cf. Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* II, 301; Mub., 323 (a philosopher cried when a child was born to him, because, he said, he had died just now). Shahrastānī, 293 (Zeno the Stoic). The ascription to Zeno of our saying is also found in *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 45a. A litteral translation of the Greek version is attributed to Zeno in Mub., 43.

64/728) Upon seeing a beggar complaining at breakfast,[49] a philosopher said to him: You should not worry already at the beginning of the day (or: You complain already at the beginning of the day!?).

Comments: No source or parallel to explain the meaning of the remark and confirm the correctness of the text is at hand. The saying appears to express something expressed cleverly in Greek to the effect that a beggar's life grows increasingly tedious with the day going on.

65/729) Trying to make a pupil understand something, a philosopher asked him whether he had understood. When the pupil replied in the affirmative, (the philosopher) said: You are lying. Asked by (the pupil) why he was saying that, (the philosopher) replied: Understanding shows itself by joy, and I do not see you joyous.

Greek sources: DL, VII, 172 (Cleanthes), with no reference to lying and joy, concludes: "Then, why don't I perceive that you perceive"

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 64, 11. 1277 f. (Hermes), with reference

48. An alternative reading al-Mu'ayyad lacks corroboration, even if in the more elaborate version of Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* II, 301, al-Ma'mūn appears who had a brother called al-Mu'ayyad. The famous wazīr al-Faḍl died in 202/818, cf. *EI²,* II, 731 f.

49. This seems to be the meaning of *ma'a l-ghadā'.*

to music, but not to lying. *Ṣiwān,* 85, 11. 1783-85 (KH'ws),[50] has just the opposite.
IHindū, 133 (anonymous), not in Ms. Aya Sofya which is defective here. IHindū adds: "This compares to the Baghdādī saying: I see the fluffy traces *(qarad?)*[51] of recognition in your face."
Mub., 20 (Hermes and his pupil Q/Fwṭyl[y]s[52]), with no reference to lying and (against the printed text) dealing with music. Mub. has after name of the pupil: *wa-'indahū mūsīqī ḥarraka 'alā ṣūrat ash-shajā'ah* (Ms. Aya Sofya 2900 mükerrer in the margin; Ms. Ahmet III, 3206; Shahrazūrī, I, 78, and the Spanish translation). Ms. Ahmet III omits *'indahū* and reads *al-mūsīqī. Ṣiwān,* 64, has *wa-'indahū mūsīqār.* Mub., 206 (Aristotle), is quite similar to IHindū, 133, but has no reference to lying and music. Quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, I, 66, 11. 7-9.

Comments: We cannot be sure that there existed a Greek source referring to joy, but there must have been one that focussed on music. At any rate, the Arabic versions reproduce two related sayings, one characterized by the reference to lying, and the other connecting the story very properly with the emotion caused by music and its ethical modes.

66/730) Asked where lying was praiseworthy, a philosopher replied: Where it brings together those who(se relations) are severed. And where is speaking the truth blameworthy? Where it is slander.[53]

Where is little spending more praiseworthy (than much)? Where it is for deserving purposes *(al-ḥuqūq)* and where much spending would serve wasteful purposes.

Where is the absence of patience more praiseworthy than its presence? Where it concerns our friend's misfortune.[54]

50. The *Ṣiwān*'s chapter on KH'ws further contains no. 78/742 below, as well as the famous remarks on Menander being the whetstone of his intellect and on two ears/one tongue (above, no. 11/675). The Greek name cannot be reconciled with anything like KH'ws. Ṭ'rs in Ibn Hindū, 123, may be a corruption of KH'ws. Cf. IDurayd, no. LXXIII.

51. Reading and interpretation doubtful, hardly *qird* "monkey" or *qadr.*

52. Kratylos?

53. *Ṣiwān: 'ayyan/'īyan,* read *'ayban?*

54. Cf. Ḥunayn, 55 (Aristotle).

Who is the enemy whose becoming a friend does not give you joy? The one whose enmity involves prosperity.

Where is little knowledge more praiseworthy (than much knowledge)? Where much has a negative effect on natural endowment.[55]

Where is silence better than talk? Where there is contentiousness.[56]

Comments: Except for two entries as indicated in n. 55, this chain of remarks appears in *Ṣiwān,* 63, 11. 1253-57 (Aischylos?), *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 3a (Eudemos?), and Mub., 325 (anonymous). The first two paragraphs are also found in Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* I, 74 and 366, respectively. The source situation is unclear, but any direct dependence on a Greek prototype is doubtful.

67/731) When Aristotle was seen treating an evil man, he was asked why he benefited an evil creature. He replied: I did not do it for the sake of evil, but for the sake of a human being.

Comments: The saying reflects Aristotle's *ou toi anthrōpōi alla tōi anthrōpinōi,* for which see, for instance, Stob., III, 37, 31 (Vol. III, 705 f.); Ant. Mel., 861 A-B (Clement?). Since medical treatment seems to be involved, the ascription to Aristotle is inappropriate, but the scenario is clearly secondary.

68/732) Socrates used a barrel to sit in. Asked where he would sit, should the barrel break, he replied: If the barrel breaks, the space would not break.

Comments: Discussed by Gutas, 88 and 283 ff. (Socrates, nos. 6 and 6a). As the remark is taken here out of context, it could hardly be further classified within the large tradition.

69/733) Diogenes saw a youth with a lamp. He asked whether he knew whence the fire came from. He replied: If you tell me where it goes, I'tell you whence it came.

Arabic parallels: Shahrastānī, 333, has the identical text. He adds: "and he silenced him and made him speechless, when nobody (before) has been able to stand up to him."

Comments: The addition in Shahrastānī shows that Diogenes was

55. This and the preceding remark are not found in *Ṣiwān* and Mub.

56. *Ṣiwān: ar-ra'y,* probably a mistake for *al-mirā'.* The reading of Yousef's edition *(al-mar'ah* "with women") apparently has no textual basis.

the one who raised the question and was put in his place by the youth. The saying thus belongs in the category of philosophers getting their comeuppance. It has nothing to do with the Mu'tazilah discussion of the nature of fire, as in Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān.* Like no. 82/746, below, it appears to be a witty parody of the genre of *quaestiones naturales,* as treated, for instance, by Plutarch.

70/734) Asked whether he had a house to rest in, he replied: Wherever I rest, there is my house.

Comments: The versions in Mub., 75 (Diogenes), and 97 (Socrates), are rather different but express the same idea.

71/735) Asked why he put his seal ring on his right hand,[57] he replied: So that I may know those who are charged (with what they are doing) and those whose business is no concern of theirs.

Arabic parallels: Mub., 77 (Diogenes)

Comments: As I understand it, the saying presupposes a legal/political situation where wearing an official ring on the right hand meant business and those dealing with a public official had to show the seriousness of their intentions. Some support for this very tentative explanation might have come from Plutarch's *Table-Talk,* 672A, where the problem of "why seal rings were worn next to the middle finger" was to be discussed, but the text is unfortunately missing. The editor of Plutarch's essay (Loeb Series, VIII, 368 f.) refers to a passage in Macrobius, *Saturnalia,* VII, xiii, 13, which seems to shed some light on the problem. Macrobius cites the Augustan jurist Ateius Capito as expressing the opinion that with the introduction of seal rings with precious stones, they were no longer worn on the right hand, because they would be exposed to much more wear there and could easily be damaged: hinc factum est, ut usus anulorum exemptus dexterae, quae multum negotiorum gerit, in laeuam relegaretur, quae otiosior est, ne crebro motu et officio manus dexterae pretiosi lapides

57. There is no support for reading "left hand" as in Ms. Berlin of Ibn Abī 'Awn. Both Mub. and Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* I, 10, speak of "right hand."

frangerentur. See L. Strzelecki, *C. Atei Capitonis Fragmenta,* 34 f. (Wroclaw 1960).

The much discussed question where the Prophet wore his seal ring (cf. *Concordance,* II, 9a f f.; Rosenthal, *Humor in Early Islam,* 45 [Leiden 1956]), has, I am sure, nothing to do with this saying.

72/736) Plato was sitting some day surrounded by his pupils; only Aristotle was missing. He exclaimed: If I had a listener, I would speak. When his attention was called to the thousand pupils around him, he said: I want one equal to a thousand.

The poet borrowed this conceit when he said concerning Khālid b. Yazīd:

O my eye! Weep for Khālid – a thousand called one! [58]

Arabic parallels: Gutas, 160 f. and 384 (Aristotle, no. 4), without the verses

IHindū, 20 (Plato), exactly like here, introducing the verses: "A litterateur *(ba'ḍ al-udabā')* says: The poet..."

Comments: The saying is a variation of Diogenes calling out for people, meaning real people, not scoundrels (no. 91/755, below). Its direct inspiration, however, is the statement in the biography of Aristotle (Mub., 180), where Plato refuses to start the discussion until people are present, and when Aristotle arrived, he says that people are now present. A saying in the form presented here may very well have existed in a Greek florilegium. The introduction of the verse in IHindū might aim at Ibn Abī 'Awn as the litterateur who added it. It would seem safer, though, to assume a common source, but see also the following saying.

73/737) Asked by Plato for proof of (the existence of)[59] God, Aristotle replied: Not one thing in His creation is greater proof of Him than any other thing.

Abū l-'Atāhiyah expressed the same idea in these verses:

58. The identity of Khālid b. Yāzid (IHindū: Zayd) remains to be established. The well-known Khālid b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah is not likely to be meant, in particular because the verses are supposedly by Abū Dulaf and were sung by 'Abīd (cf. *Aghānī*¹, XVIII, 176 f. = *Agh.*³, XXI, 55 f.) and apparently directed at a contemporary of Abū Dulaf. Incidentally, Abū Dulaf himself was praised similarly as being the entire world *(innamā d-dunyā Abū Dulaf...).*

59. *Ṣiwān* and Gutas: *ithbāt;* IHindū: *waḥdah. Ithbāt* seems more original.

How I wonder that God could be disobeyed
Or how anyone could deny His (existence)!

Everything contains a sign pointing to Him,
Proving that He is one.[60]

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 44, 11. 775 f. (Aristotle), without the verses
Gutas, 164 and 386 (Aristotle, no. 9), without the verses
IHindū, 78 (Aristotle), almost identical and including the verses. Ms. Aya Sofya provides the correct *akhadha dhālika Abū l-'Atāhiyah.*

Comments: A Greek florilegium that included excerpts from the Church Fathers might contain a prototype of the saying.

74/738) When a philosopher saw a man target shooting and his arrows landed to the right and the left of the target, he sat down right at the target. Asked why he was doing that, he replied: I can see no safer place.

Greek sources: DL, VI, 67 (Diogenes), concluding: "so as not to be hit"
Ant. Mel., 972A (Stratonicus); Max. Conf., 997C (Stratonicus), in his chapter on laughter

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 89 f. (Socrates), has a rather different wording and concludes: "Socrates stood up right at the goal and said: I fear that his arrows might hit me. He is also reported to have said: I see the goal the best protected of places"
Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* II, 95, has the same text as Ibn Abī 'Awn

Comments: There is the distinct possibility that there were two different translations.

75/739) Someone observed a philosopher in the act of copulation and asked him what he was doing/making. (The philosopher) told him: Hopefully in the end a human being.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 82, 1. 1721 (Fylsws, Dunlop: Philippos?), between the chapters on Aristophanes and Euripides
IHindū, 132 f. (anonymous)

60. Cf. the *dīwān* of Abū l-'Atāhiyah, ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, 104 (Damascus 1384/1965). Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt,* II, 225, refers to Labīd, cf. *Sharḥ Dīwān Labīd,* ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, 363 (Kuwait 1962), among the verses spuriously attributed to Labīd.

Comments: The joke, possibly from a Greek comedy, may be based on the double meaning of Greek *poiein,* which is easily reproduced by Arabic *'amila*

76/740) A blind philosopher was asked about his age when he was near death. He replied: A single (long) night.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 67, 11. 1136 f., Fatih, fol. 36a: "Solon, when he was very old, was asked about his age/life. He replied: The moment in which I am. Or, according to another version, he said: a single night." With no mention of blindness, the second version is quite pointless. The Greek original, we can be sure, mentioned blindness.

77/741) When a philosopher observed a man of doubtful parentage slandering someone, he remarked: Maybe, unbeknownst to himself, he refers to his father.

Greek sources: Flor. Paris., 411 (Diogenes). See comments, below

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 105 (Diogenes)
Tawḥ., VIII, 44 (among sayings of Diogenes)

Comments: The Greek and Arabic versions differ from Ibn Abī 'Awn in that they refer to throwing stones into the crowd and a warning to the bastard that he might inadvertently hit his father. The exact Greek prototype here remains to be found.
For "bastard", Ibn Abī 'Awn has *madkhūl annasab;* IHindū *manbūdh* (glossed by *malqūṭ* "foundling," not in Ms. Aya Sofya; Tawḥ., strangely, *ghulām aswad.*

78/742) When a philosopher was told that so-and-so spoke well of him, he said: I must surely make his words come true.

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 85, 11. 1785 f., Fatih, fol. 44b (KH'ws, see n. 50); *Ṣiwān* Fatih, fol. 46a has a slightly expanded version (Pindar?)
IHindū, 134 (anonymous)
Mub., 305 (Pindar?), cf. *Heritage,* 130

79/743) Asked why wisdom and money are not found together, Plato replied: Because perfection is rare.[61]

Arabic parallels: Tawḥ., IV, 170 (Plato)
Mub., 132 (Plato), quoted by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, I, 51

61. *'Izz* and *'izzah* vary in the much quoted saying.

Comments: The rhyming form of question and answer does not completely exclude Greek origin.

80/744) Asked who was the best rhetor, he said: The one who captivates people by the beauty of his speech.

Comments: No helpful Greek or Arabic versions are available. The variant readings *jalasa* for *ḥabasa* and *ḥīna* for *ḥusnu* are not helpful and appear to be simple mistakes.
Tawḥ., III, 141 (Alexander on an anonymous rhetor) and Mub., 246 (Alexander on DHym'nwms[62]) have an apparently unrelated statement to the effect that the length of a rhetor's speech should be tailored to the receptivity of the audience. Its Greek original appears in Max. Conf., 941A (Plato on Antisthenes) and elsewhere.

81/745) A pandore player invited a philosopher and treated him to boiled and roasted meat that was very sinewy. The philosopher told him: Hey you! You have slaughtered your pandore for us.

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 132 (anonymous), with slight differences possibly meant to be improvements

Comments: Similar jokes are ascribed to the well-known jokester Abū l-'Aynā' in Tawḥ., *Imtā'*, III, 69, and others, for instance, Rāghib, *Muḥāḍarāt*, I, 409 (someone), or as-Silafī, *Mu'jam as-safar*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, 29 (Beirut 1963) (a bedouin). There, it is the cooking of a chess set. This is less appropriate, since it presupposes chessplayers (even a bedouin chessplayer).

82/746) Someone asked Socrates[63] why seawater was salty. (Socrates) replied: If you tell me what might be the use for you in knowing that, I shall tell you the reason why it is salty.

Arabic parallels: Tawḥ., II, 172 (Socrates); Tawḥ. and Miskawayh, *Hawāmil*, 359
Mub., 113 (Socrates)

Comments: See no. 69/733 above. The wording in Tawḥ. and Mub. differs from that of Ibn Abī 'Awn.

83/747) When asked which wild beast was most beautiful, Socrates replied: Woman.

62. This could be Demosthenes as suggested by 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Badawī, but there are other possibilities such as Demades.

63. Hippocrates in Ms. Berlin is a mistake. There other variant readings in the text.

Arabic parallels: IDurayd, no. LVI (Socrates), has *as-sibā'*
Ṣiwān Fatih, fol. 42a (a philosopher), has *aḥsan* as in Tawḥ., I, 127
Tawḥ., I, 127 (a philosopher) (many references) and II, 172 (Socrates). Tawḥ., I, 127, uses *as-sibā'*, and II, 172, *bahīmah*.
IHindū, 84 (Socrates) and 86 (Socrates), uses, respectively *al-bahā'im* and *as-sibā'*

Comments: The source situation of this much quoted saying is unclear. The alternation *sibā'/bahā'im* is not gratuitous.

84/748) When asked what was sharper than a saw, he replied: Slander.

Greek sources: Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconum*, 221C
Gnom. Vat., no. 337 (Thearides), with further references

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 89 (Socrates), as here

85/749) Mwln, the cook, was asked what a meal needs after being prepared. He replied: Hungry people.

Arabic parallels: Tawḥ., II, 130, adds that Mwln was from Sicily and phrases the remark slightly differently

Comments: Molon and similar forms are names attested in Greek, but it is by no means certain that Molon is the correct identification. Mwly in Ms. Berlin is an obvious mistake. Attribution and banality make it clear beyond a doubt that we are dealing here with a direct translation from the Greek.

86/750) Diogenes (see n. 19) found a man climbing over his wall.[64] When he asked him what the idea was, the man replied that he was not climbing up there to steal. Whereupon (Diogenes) said: You must not give yourself the appearance of being a burglar.

Comments: Arabic parallels and the Greek source which no doubt existed have not yet been identified.

87/751) Lacon: A man wanted to seize something in his hand, and (Lacon) bit him. The man said that he was biting as women do. (Lacon) replied: No, but as lions do.

Greek sources: The versions in Plutarch, *Apophthegmata Laconum*, 234F, and *Regum Apophthegmata*, 186D

64. Ms. Berlin: "building."

(Alcibiades), have different introductions and specify as the place bitten the arm and the hand, respectively.
Gnom. Vat., no. 402: *Lamōn palaiōn ton antagōnistēn edake. tou de eipontos, dakneis hōs gynē, eipen, ouchi all' hōs leōn.* Lamon is considered by the editor as an uncertain reading. Cf. also G. Strohmaier, "Antike Randnotizen zum Sport," in *Das Altertum,* 22 (1976), 26

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 93, 11. 1991 f. (Lacon): "A man wronged him and tried to take a box (?)[65] in his hand. He attacked him,[66] and he bit him. He was told: You did what women do. He said: No, I rather did what a lion does. Cf. *Heritage,* 271, n. 30
Tawḥ., II, 130: "A man wronged a philosopher. He attcked him, and he bit him..." The story appears in close vicinity here to no. 85/749

Comments: It is strange to find this story of a wrestler biting his opponent so much distorted in the Arabic translation. A clear reference to wrestling may have been omitted in the translation process, perhaps by a Syriac intermediary, so that only very obscure verbal allusions remained. "Seize something in his band" recalls *cheirapsia* in *Apophth. Lac.* or the handholds used in wrestling *(elēphthē labēn)* in Regum Apophth.

88/752) A king came upon two guards in his camp who were asleep. He killed them. When asked why he had done that, he replied: I left them as I found them.

Greek sources: Gnom. Vat., no. 556 (Chabrias), where other sources are indicated. Cf. IDurayd, no. XLV

Arabic parallels: IDurayd, no. XLV ('wfqr'ṭys) with a slightly different wording
IHindū, 125 ('n'qr'ṭys), as in IDurayd

Comments: The proper names are identical but remain to be identified. "Hippocrates" is unlikely. The Greek play on words *(katebalon–katelabon)* is what makes the remark a memorable witticism. The Arabic translation *(trk–wjd)* is less effective but quite well done.

65. Badawī's edition of *Ṣiwān,* 244, reads correctly *ghaṣabahū,* but the following *'alā ḥq* is doubtful, possible *ḥuqq,* as translated here. "A right *(ḥaqq)* he possessed" seems implausible.

66. *Shadda 'alā* might conceivably function here as a wrestling term: "tightened his hold on him."

89/753) Asked what fattens *(yusammin)* a riding animal, Fwrws replied: The eye of its master.

Greek sources: Xenophon, *Oikonomikos,* 12, 20, introduces the remark with *hē tou barbarou legomenē apokrisis*
Plutarch, *de liberis educandis,* 9D

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 88, 1. 1871 (Fwrs)
IHindū, 118 (kwdws), says "horse"

Comments: IHindū's kwdws is clearly corrupt. In view of the original connection with Xenophon, it is tempting to read Fwr(w)s as Ephoros or Cyrus, but there are other possibilities. This saying and no. 92/756, below, are among the three sayings in the *Ṣiwān*'s chapter on Fwrs; the third is his answer to Alexander's query about the relationship of poetry to philosophy, which makes one think about the Poros of the Alexander novel.

90/754) Seeing a man who was contemptuous of his father, Diogenes told him: Are you not ashamed to show contempt for the one who gave you pride in yourself?

Greek sources: DL, VI, 65 (Diogenes)
Stob., IV, 25, 43 (Vol. IV, 628), ascribed to Plato as also in Gnom. Vat., no. 429, and Max. Conf., 840D

91/755) Diogenes ascended to a high place and shouted: All you human beings!, whereupon common people came to him from every direction. He exclaimed: What is the matter with you?[67] I did not call you. I called human beings.

Comments: For the Greek (DL, VI, 32 [Diogenes]) and the extensive Arabic tradition, see Gutas, 66 and 231 f. (Pythagoras, no. 8). It deserves notice that IHindū appears to be closest to Ibn Abī 'Awn. In particular, both have "common people" *(al-'āmmah),* possibly remote echo of an attempt to translate *katharmata.*

92/756) Asked what is the best thing in the world, a philosopher replied: A good reputation.

67. Lit., "why you (why have you come)?"

Arabic parallels: *Ṣiwān,* 88 f., 11. 1871 f. (Fwrws, see above, no. 89/753)

Comments: Isocrates is quoted in Stob., IV, 7, 38 (Vol. IV, 257), as speaking of *doxa kalē* as a better inheritance than money. There are no doubt other such statements in Greek literature.

93/757) A Greek peasant was asked why a strapping fellow like him did not join the army. He replied: Peasants, I have noticed, die only when their time has come, but I have seen a thousand soldiers killed in a single hour.

Arabic parallels: IHindū, 132, among Greek parables *(amthāl).* The Greek original remains to be found

94/758) A youth asked Plato how he was able to (acquire all) that knowledge. (Plato) replied: I have spent more oil in the lamp than you have drunk wine, all my life.[68]

Greek sources: See Gnom. Vat., no. 204 (Demosthenes)

Arabic parallels: IDurayd, no. XIII (Plato), is close to Ibn Abī ʻAwn.
Ṣiwān, 93, 11. 1975 f. (Demosthenes), corresponds to Mub., 137, cf. *Heritage,* 140
IHindū, 21 f. (Plato), phrased differently
Mub., 317 (appar. Demosthenes), corresponds to *Ṣiwān.* Mub., 134 (Plato) is rather close to IDurayd and Ibn Abī ʻAwn. Two manuscripts of Mub.'s Western recension omit Mub., 317, but add the saying near Mub., 153 (replacing the saying beginning *wa-qāla lā yanbaghī li-l-adīb).* There we find "the same amount as" for "more than," quoted in this form in Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʻah, I, 52.

Comments: The answer in Stob., III, 29, 90 (Vol. III, 655), runs: *pleon elaion oinou dapanēsas,* whereas Gnom. Vat. has: *pleion elaion dapanō nyktos hou pineis oinou.* The Arabic versions ascribed to Demosthenes seem to form one group, and those ascribed to Plato another.

95/759) Diogenes looked at a handsome man who was lying. He

68. Whether it is "my life" or "your life," this is very suspect and does not occur in any other version. Mub., 133 bottom, has *ʻumrahū (al-ʻumr) kullahū* at the end of another saying in close proximity. This saying might have originally been included by Ibn Abī ʻAwn and was then omitted just leaving the two final words.

exclaimed: The house is beautiful, but its inhabitant is a devil!

Comments: Of all the related sayings mentioned in connection with IDurayd, no. III, only IHindū, 113 (Diogenes), corresponds to Ibn Abī ʻAwn. IHindū seems to have put this saying in as an afterthought. Ms. Aya Sofya has something that originally was *yakdhib* "lying"; it is replaced in the printed text by *radī' as-sīrah.*

* *
*

Ibn Abī ʻAwn continues with five animals fables followed by six philosophical sayings. The latter (nos. 766-770 of the edition) read:

1) A philosopher was asked why he did not show any filial piety. He replied: Because my parents have brought me into generation and decay (cf. IHindū, 134).

2) Asked about wealth, a philosopher called it a beloved evil.

3) Asked about poverty, he called it a possession that does not require accounting.

4) Another philosopher, asked about death, said: It is the fear of the rich and desire of the poor.

5) Another, also asked about death, called it a never ending sleep.

6) Another, asked about women, called them a war without armistice.[69]

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69. For once, Ms. Berlin has the correct text, as against the "irreparable ruin" found elsewhere.

Pseudo-Callisthenes Orientalis and the Problem of *Du l-qarnain*

I. Basic literature on the subject

The investigation of the Oriental versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes has been facilitated through Ernest A. Wallis Budge's publications of an early Syriac (6-7th cent.)[1] and a later (14-16th cent.) Ethiopic[2] version. He provided his edition of the Syriac text with a detailed introduction concerning the Egyptian origin and the Greek, Latin, Armenian, Syriac, Hebrew, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Ethiopic, Coptic and miscellaneous European versions of the story. In this introduction of the Syriac text he already gave detailed contents of the Ethiopic version.

The material was scrutinized by Theodor Nöldeke[3], who in a very short time after Budge's publication of the Syriac text and, therefore, without aiming at exhaustive completeness, compared the Syriac translation not

1. *E.A. W. Budge, The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac version, edited from five manuscripts, of the Pseudo-Callisthenes with an English translation, accompanied by an historical introduction on the origins and the various Oriental and European versions of the fabuous history of Alexander, with notes, glossary, appendixes, variant readings, and indexes;* Cambridge 1889 (photomechanical reprint Amsterdam 1976). The appendixes contain translations of (a) A Christian Legend concerning Alexander (pp. 144-158); (b) A Brief Life of Alexander (pp. 159-161); (c) A Metrical discourse upon Alexander by Jacob of Sĕrūgh (pp. 163-200); (a) has been added in all MSS to the Syriac version of Ps.-Cal. and was published by Budge on pp. 255-275 of the Syriac text; (b) is based on P. Lagarde's edition in *Analecta Syriaca* 1858 (reprint 1967), pp. 205-208; (c) was poorly edited by Knös, *Chrest. Syr.* 1807, pp. 66-107, Budge provided his translation with textual corrections and finally procured an improved edition: *Alexander the Great and Gog and Magog,* ZA VI, pp. 357-404.

2. Id., *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great being a series of Ethiopic texts edited from manyscripts in the British Museum and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, with an English translation and notes,* London 1896.

3. Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderromans,* Denkschriften der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Philos.-Hist. Classe, 38/1890.

only with the Greek original but also with the different Oriental versions, and proposed a surprising but convincing solution of the *Vorlage* of the Syriac version: This was translated neither directly from Greek – as he himself for a long time supposed[4] – nor from an Arabic translation of a Greek original, for which Budge following a suggestion of W. Wright pleaded, but from a Middle Persian (Pahlavi) translation.

Nöldeke's arguments remained authoritative. The lost Arabic translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes cannot be considered as a *Vorlage* of the Syriac version; if it ever existed in full extent, it rather depended on the latter than *vice versa*. This seems to be proved by an extract from *Mubaššir ibn Fātik* (d. 1053/4) containing the most detailed ancient Arabic story of Alexander, based on Pseudo-Callisthenes[5]. Other versions of Arabic historiographers are largely independent from Pseudo Callisthenes. They pretend a Persian origin of Alexander and prove only how far Arabic versions got away from the Greek and Syriac versions. This was pointed out not only by Nöldeke[6] but also by Budge[7] himself.

Nevertheless, the existence of an Arabic translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes, which does not seem to have ever enjoyed popularity among the Muslims, is still proved by the late Ethiopic translation which appears to have been made from Arabic. After Budge's publication of the Ethiopic text, at the beginning of our century Karl Fr. Weymann[8] paid attention to the lost Arabic translation and its related versions. With this dissertation, footing firmly on Budge's publications of the texts and Nöldeke's principal solution of the problem, the research on this fascinating subject has been closed. Standard works on history of Oriental literatures, e.g. A. Baumstark[9], G. Graf[10], C. Brockelmann[11] an others, simply rely on the opinion of Nöldeke. Although there are many popular Arabic versions and even Karshuni manuscripts, none of these texts has been published. There is, of course, little hope that this late material could bring us further

4. Op. c., p. 14.

5. Published by Bruno Meissner, *Mubašširs Aḫbār el-Iskender,* ZDMG 49/1895, pp. 583-627.

6. Op. c., p. 34ff.

7. (1898), p. LXXXVI: "None of these accounts can in any way be considered as translations of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

8. K.F. Weymann, *Die äthiopische und arabische Übersetzung des Pseudo-Callisthenes,* Kirchhain N.-L. 1901.

9. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur,* 1922 (reprint 1968), p. 124.

10. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur,* I (1944), pp. 545f.

11. Brockelmann, *Syrische Grammatik* (numerous editions), Literatur 7b: *Aus dem Mittelpersichen* (Pehlevi).

elucidation of the problems of the origin of the Oriental versions, but for the study of their development, their interdependence and their interrelations it could still be of great importance[11a].

II. Oriental sources of Pseudo-Callisthenes

A. Egyptian parallels

It is comparatively easier to ascertain the differences between these late Oriental versions than to attempt the solution of the Oriental sources of Pseudo-Callisthenes. The former task can be achieved through philological and literary comparison of the extant material, whereas for the latter only hypothetical logical and psychological considerations of the material collected and finally edited in the Greek versions are possible. These can always leave some doubt. Critical mind is hardly compatible with phantasy, and whoever may try to solve the problem with this method will run the risk of writing a new Alexander romance.

We can make the approach in a double way: (1) Either we restrict the field of our investigation to Nöldeke and we say: "Ueber die Entstehung des Pseudocallistenes wird man wohl schwerlich viel mehr ermitteln, als das, was Carl Müller in der Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe und Erwin Rohde (Der griechische Roman, S. 184 ff.) dargelegt haben"[12]. (2) Or we follow the way taken by Budge and satisfy ourselves with parallel and intermediate documents of Oriental origin. The material he collected about the Egyptian origin of the story is quite persuasive, even if not absolutely convincing: "The first book of the history of Alexander according to Pseudo-Callisthenes is certainly of Egyptian origin... It would certainly never enter the head of Greeks to compose an promulgate a story which made the wife of one of their kings to commit adultery with a fugitive king of a foreign country, especially with the king of a nation which they themselves derided, nor is it likely that they would acknowledge the offspring of this adultery as their king. On the other hand the improbability of the whole story and the miraculous nature of its details makes it precisely the kind of fable which we should expect to receive from an Egyptian who wished to prove that Alexander was an Egyptian..."[13]

In order to corroborate his logically and psychologically strong thesis,

11a. Cf. A.X. Λῶλος, *Graeco-Arabica* III 1984, pp. 191-205.

12. L.c., p. 2.

13. Budge (1889), p. XXXVI. See the whole chapter: "The Egyptian Origin of the Alexander Story", p. XXXV-LI.

he adduced several parallels from Egyptian hieroglyphic literature and even a hieroglyphic seal, which is read: "King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the chosen one of Rā, the beloved of Amen", to which he added: "Being the son of the god Rā, who was frequently represented on the sculptures by a ram, it was only natural that the two horns of this animal should be made attributes of Alexander the Great, and that he should be called 'two-horned.' "[14] This would certainly be the most natural explanation of the title *ḏū l-qarnain* given him in the Koran (18:82/83), although later several quite different metaphorical and metonymical explanations of this title were attempted (see ch. VI A).

Egyptian, esp. local Alexandrian motifs and tendencies at the beginning of the first book were already rightly emphasized by C. Müller in the introduction to his edition of the Greek text. Nöldeke in his precautions approach to the problem of the story confirmed them. He also admitted that the idea that Alexander was a son of the last Egyptian king, in order to prove that he was a legitimate ruler of Egypt, might have originated in an Egyptian mind. He, therefore, appreciated Budge's effort to adduce all possible parallels from Egyptian literary sources, but he rejected the postulate already expressed before Budge by Bouriant[16] that the redactor of the work known under the name of Pseudo-Callisthenes depended on national Egyptian traditions. The attempt at a rationalist explanation of Alexander's descent from the god Ammon seemed to him to be Greek rather than Egyptian.[17]

Although Nöldeke did not deny the numerous popular traits in Pseudo-Callisthenes, he meant that on the whole the work was not a product of popular traditions but of a mediocre scholarly and literary activity, since he found a large number of similar unhistorical anecdotes even in the more serious biographies of Alexander, like those of Plutarch and Arrian, who took them over as λεγόμενα from his most ancient biographers, such as Clitarch and Onesicritus[18]. In this respect he was certainly right, but he might have missed the point concerning the Egyptian beginning of the story as well as some other fabulous additions through which Pseudo-Callisthenes overran his predecessors. Even if the rationalisa-

14. Ibid., p. LI.

15. L.c., p. 10.

16. JA 1887, 1, p. 24.

17. L.c., p. 10: "Die halb rationalistische Art, wie zu dem Zweck die Abkunft von Ammon umgedeutet wird, sieht doch viel mehr griechisch als ägyptisch aus. Uebrigens findet sich ausser im Anfang schwerlich etwas, das man als spezifisch ägyptisch bezeichnen könnte."

18. See his comparison of the Greek versions, l.c., p. 3-10.

tion of the mythological origin of the hero was rather Greek than Egyptian, the idea itself was Egyptian rather than Greek, and Budge's psychological question whether the Greeks themselves could have been able to invent a story that their queen committed adultery with a vagabond, fugitive king of a people which they despised remains. It must be answered negatively. This does not, of course, mean that the beginning of the story must actually have been written in Egyptian, but it clearly proves that its character is undeniably Egyptian, although a Greek redactor might have rationalized its mythological traits. Nöldeke himself pointed out that the redactor proceeded selectively but not critically enough and was not able to retouch completely some negative legendary traits which did not fit into the frame of his ideal picture of the hero of his story[19]. To these might have belonged also Olympias' adultery with Nectanebos as well as the murder of the latter through Alexander.

B. Iranian elements?

Whereas Egyptian elements in the beginning of the story appear as self-evident, the presence of genuine Iranian elements in the second and third books is much more problematic. Although it might be natural that, similarly to the Egyptians, the Persians would also have tried to save their national pride after the conquest of their country by pretending that Alexander was of Persian origin and, therefore, their legitimate king – as they, in fact, did it in their legends spread over in the Islamic period and taken over also by the Arabs –, Iranian tradition was not at all as favourable to Alexander as the Egyptian. It resounds vengeance and contempt rather than reconciliation and exaltation. Alexander is called *setamgār* "opressor, tyrant, destructor"[20]. He is treated as an enemy of the Iranian people, religion and culture. Zoroastrian literature put him on the same level as *Bēwarsp,* the prince of the devils, and *Frasyāk,* a common name for the northern enemies of Iran[21]. Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (ed. Gottwaldt, pp. 40f.) and the later anonymous author of the Persian history *Moǧmel ot-*

19. L.c., p. 9f.: "dass der Roman von den geschichtlich feststehenden Mängeln und schlimmen Taten des Königs nichts sagt, ist aber gewiss absichtlich. Desto widerwärtiger erscheint die aus blossem Uebermuth begangene Ermordung des Nectanebos 1, 14, von der kein Aufheben gemacht wird."

20. See already Fr. Spiegel, *Die Alexandersage bei den Orientalen* 1851 (reprint 1972), pp. 10-13; further material by Nöldeke, l.c. 34ff.

21. See the beginning of *Ardā-Wirāf-nāmak* and *Dīnkart, Mīnox* 8, 28; Nöldeke, l.c. 34 with n. 1.

tawārīḫ (JA 1841, pp. 360f.) deny the information taken from Greek sources into Oriental books that Alexander founded twelve cities because he was no constructor but a destructor[22]. Similarly says Ṭabarī (ed. de Goeje, I, 701): "He destroyed cities, fortresses and fire-temples in Persia, he killed the *hīrbeds,* burnt their libraries and Dara's administrative records..."[23] These unpleasant reports can hardly be attenuated by the communication that he caused Iranian books of medicine, astronomy and philosophy to be translated into Greek[24]. Under such circumstances there was little possibility that Pseudo-Callisthenes could have taken over from the Persians much that would correspond to his concept and to the general frame of his story.

Nevertheless, parallel to the Egyptian beginning of the story according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Persians also had a similar idea that Alexander was a son of their last king. This parallelism is very striking and shows that the Persians, similarly to the Alexandrian Egyptians, might have been interested in proving that Alexander was of their own offspring. This specific Iranian tradition is mentioned for the first time by the Irano-Arabic historian, Abū Ḥanīfa ad-Dīnawarī (d. 895/6), in his *Kitāb al-aḫbār aṭ-ṭiwāl.*[25] This fact alone would not, of course, suffice to prove that it is not much older than its first recording in Arabic history. Its age as an oral tradition cannot be ascertained. But there are strong reasons that it is hardly pre-Islamic and could not precede the first Oriental versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes. It seems to have been invented as a counterpart of the mythologico-polytheistic opening of the story which had no chance of becoming popular amongst the Muslims and was, therefore, dropped from the Arabic version from the very beginning. The possibility that this Iranian tradition might have been already pre-Islamic can not be absolutely excluded, although it is less probable. Its origin might have had not only religious but also national Iranian reasons. As soon as the Persians became acquainted with the original version of Pseudo-Callisthenes in the late Sasanian times, they might have thought of producing a countereffect by creating an independent Iranian version which influenced the minds of the Persians more than that of Pseudo-Callisthenes which, due to common illiteracy of the people, was hardly spread among masses of the population. Under these circumstances, the question whether it was

22. Spiegel, l.c. p. 12; Nöldeke, l.c.

23. Nöldeke, l.c., p. 46.

24. Spiegel, l.c.; cf. Nöldeke, p. 34.

25. Ed. Wladimir Girgas, Leiden 1888. The part concerning Alexander (pp. 31ff.) was translated into German by Nöldeke, l.c. 35ff.

written down before Dīnawarī or propagated merely orally is of no practical importance. Some popular traditions lived centuries before they were written down.

But even if this tradition were much more ancient and even if it had preceded the Greek text of Pseudo-Callisthenes, the Greek redactor could hardly have presented two different stories of Alexander's descent. Moreover, the Persian story was less exciting and more repulsive to the Greek mind than the Egyptian legend. Dīnawarī says clearly that there are different "scholarly" opinions about Alexander's descent, but he finds only the Persian tradition worth mentioning: (31f.) The King Dārā (I: *Dārāb)* saw a daughter of Philip on his military expedition to the land of the "Romans" and wanted to marry her. He took her with him to his country, but as he wanted to cohabit with her he noticed that she was repulsively stinking. He ordered the manageress of his wives to employ a means to neutralize her bad smell when she ought to be brought to him. This partly succeeded by the use of a plant called *sandar* (name of a fragrant resin), and he cohabited with her and she became pregnant from him. But as he could not stand her because of her bad smell, he sent her back to her father, Philip, where she bore Alexander, whom she named after the name of the plant *(sandar / Iskandar)* with which she was treated in the night of their cohabitation with Dārā(b). In the meantime, Alexander's half-brother Dārā (II) became the king of Persia.

This genuine Persian version with its odd popular etymology could hardly appeal to the Greek mind and a Greek redactor of Pseudo-Callisthenes could hardly have taken it over, even if it had been known to him.

Nevertheless, there are several motifs at the end of the second book which need not be completely unhistorical and which might have appealed to the Persians and given origin to a secondary Iranian tradition which was independent from that of the Zoroastrian clerus: The reconciliation of Darius at the moment of his death with his enemy, Alexander, seems, of course, to be highly unhistorical and might have been invented by the Persians rather than by the Greeks, but the punishment Alexander inflicted upon the treacherous murderers of Darius, the kindness with which he treated the mother, the wife, and the daughter of the slain Persian king, and especially his marriage with Darius' daughter, Roxana (Pers. *Rowšanak,* Syr. *Rošnāq),* may be considered as historical facts which were not unlikely to change enmity to friendship. In fact, Iranian traditions about Alexander need not have been as unambiguously negative as it appears from the Zoroastrian literature, although they were not as unanimously positive as the Egyptian traditions appearing at the

beginning of the first book of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

Pseudo-Callisthenes was hardly a work of exclusive literary transmission and "mediocre scholarship" as Nöldeke assumed. It was a growing living story before and after it was written down in Greek. In the five centuries after Alexander, in which it got its more or less definitive written shape, it was nourished not only by popular Greek traditions but also by Oriental legends. Due to the lack of written sources in ancient times and plenty of various material in its Oriental and Occidental versions, in which it sometimes underwent a thorough metamorphosis, literary criticism will never be able to solve all its problems, but it would not be right to restrict them by unjustified limitations. It would be a transgression against the spirit of Pseudo-Callisthenes. Many methodological observations of its posthistory may prove to be instructive also for its prehistory.

Since the capture of Babylon and the founding of the Persian Empire through Cyrus the Great, there was no event of equal importance until the successive victories of Alexander the Great. We shall see (ch. VI B) that Oriental traditions eventually confused these two personalities and attributed some deeds of the former to the latter. At least, in such cases, the legend of Alexander – although attested only in relatively late literary sources – might have been older than himself. Some of them may go back to Babylonian sources, as M. Lidzbarski[26] argued. As the last one of all great conquerors in the Orient, almost a millenium before the Islamic conquest, he overshaded all of them and inherited a good part of Oriental legends about the heroes and conquerors before him.

After Nöldeke's surprising and ingeniously documented discovery that the Syriac version could have been based only on a Pahlavi translation, the question why should this book have been translated into Pahlavi is certainly not out of place. It is neither a book of science or philosophy nor a collection of popular wisdom, as *Kalīla wa-Dimma,* which could have attracted the attention of Middle Persian scholars. In fact, apart from Alexander's interview with the brahmans, there is very little which could remind us of wisdom literature.

A possible answer to the question why the book was translated into Middle Persian would be that it interested the Persians, because it was part of their own history. But the question whether and how far it contained, at least, some ancient Iranian traditions would be very difficult to answer. Nöldeke[27] answered it negatively and he might have been right

26. ZA VII, pp. 104ff., cf. id., ZA VIII, pp. 263 ff. and a parallel Babylonian text mentioned there, published by E.T. Harper, Beiträge zur Assyriologie II, p. 391ff.

27. L.c., p. 34: "Die Perser hatten von Alexander nur sehr schwache Erinnerungen

that the translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes meant a completely new picture of Alexander to the Persians. We are, of course, able to judge this lost Pahlavi version only on the basis of its Syriac translation, of which we are not sure how closely it followed its *Vorlage* and which remained only in five recent copies. But as this Syriac text still contains the story of the Egyptian descent of Alexander, we may assume that its Pahlavi-*Vorlage* follow the Greek original soon vanished. Although the main body of the text might have been taken over into the *Khoḏāy-nāmak* written in Pahlavi and into its Arabic adaption by Ibn Moqaffaʿ or one of his rivals in the 8th sentury, the beginning of the story of Persian origin known to Dīnawarī and further Arabic historians was introduced. Also some other typical traits of the story uninteresting to the Persians were omitted. To these belonged some events concerning Greece, the founding of Alexandria and – surprisingly enough – also the report about the poisoning of Alexander, which is still mentioned by the Patriarch of Alexandria, Eutychius (d. 940) who preserved also some other typical traits of the romance than the Persian-Arabic literary tradition and must, therefore, at least indirectly have used other, more exact sources.[28]

However, due to the late date of the manuscripts of the Syriac version, we are unable to say whether and how much its deviations from the Greek text known to us corresponded to the Pahlavi version. E.g. Alexander's fictive letter to Aristoteles (Syr., book III, ch. VII) has a much longer text than in Müller's edition[29]. As the whole letter seems to be a product of unrestrained Oriental phantasy, it would be only natural that the Oriental translators and copyists rather felt the need of expanding than of shortening it. At any rate, it is hardly probable that a Pahlavi or Syriac translator had a longer text in their hands.

But there are also slight tendencious changes for religious purposes which are generally ascribed to the Christian Syriac translator, although a Pahlavi translator might already have tried to zoroastranize Alexander as well as the Syro-Aramaean Christians christianized him. A noteworthy example of this kind consists in the Syriac version of the sentence ἐξέπνευσε τὸ πνεῦμα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν Ἀλεξάνδρου[30], which was changed into Darius' last words addressed to Alexander: "Into thy hands I com-

bewahrt ... Ganz anders gestaltete sich das Bild Alexander's bei den Persern durch den Roman."

28. Ibid.

29. It ends on p. 125 in Müller's edition. What follows is known only from the Syriac version, cf. Budge, p. 106 n. 1.

30. Ed. Müller, p. 78, col. 1.

mend my spirit" (book II: ch. XII). This change obviously betrays a Christian translator who adapted the Greek phrase just quoted to Jesus' words on the cross according to Luke 23:46. But strangely enough, Ferdowsi also let Alexander die with a similar direct speach:

goft dast-e ū bar dahān nahād
be-dū goft: Yazdān panāh-e to bād
sepordam to-rā ǧāy wa-raftam be ḫāk
rawān-rā sepordam be-Yazdān-e pāk[31]
"He said putting his (:Alexander's) hand on his mouth,
he said to him: «Yazdān be thy refuge!
I commend thee (my) place and go into the dust.
I commend (my) soul to the pure Yazdān.»"

Could this strange correspondence between the simple Biblical quotation in the Syriac translation and the sermon of the Yazdān-worshipper, Darius, in the moment of his death be simply coincidental? While the Syriac translator who was obviously no poet was satisfied by quoting the words of Jesus on the cross, Ferdowsī evaluated poetically the religious motifs which might have been present in the common source of both. The legend of the reconciliation of the dying Darius with Alexander seems to have been of much greater importance to the Persians than to the Greeks. Ferdowsi is, of course, no reliable source of Iranian history, but the religious feelings with which this greatest national Iranian poet followed this legendary event and even let the dying Darius kiss the hand of Alexander is certainly not without psychological significance for the enthusiasm with which the Iranians greeted this legend. Would it be possible that they first learnt it from the Greeks and not *vice versa?* It is noteworthy that Mubaššir's extract from an Arabic Pseudo-Callisthenes contains exactly the same wording as Ferdowsi: *ṯumma waḍa'a yadahu fī famihi wa-māta* (594:10) "Then he (:Darius) put his (Alexander's) hand to his mouth and died."

III. The Syriac version and its 'Vorlage'

The editor of the Syriac version, E.W.A. Budge, following the suggestion of W. Wright, meant erroneously that the Syriac translation was made from an Arabic translation of a Greek original and thought that the strongest evidence for it might be obtained from the Syriac forms of Greek proper names, the corruptions of which are partly explainable

31. Ed. Vullers(-Landauer), 1803:385f.

through misreadings of diacritical dots in the Arabic script. Most of his reasons are, however, invalidated by the possibility of miscopying similar letters in the Syriac script itself, e.g. *n* and *y*. cf. Νεκτανεβῶς X Ar. **Naqṭ* X Syr. *Naqṭībōs*; Σεσόγχωσος X Ar. **Sīsanqōsis* X Syr. *Sīsīqōsis* etc. The frequent *mnhr 'lh'* (vocalized *manhar allāhē)* for *Mihr allāhā* the name of the Persian "God Mithras" (81:5, 86:1, 128:11, noted by Budge himself in the footnotes to his edition) proves how easily these two letters *(n* and *y)* could be miscopied in the Syriac script itself.

Moreover, Nöldeke proved a free Syriac syntax of the translation and absolute lack of Arabic syntactic and lexical influences, although Iranian phonetic, lexical, syntactic and idiomatic influences are overwhelming.

Most of the corruptions of Greek proper names in Syriac transmission are explainable by the ambiguities of the Pahlavi script, especially the frequent confusion of the liquids *l, r* and *n,* for which the Pahlavi script had two signs, of which one represented all three mentioned sounds plus *w,* and the second could be used ambigously for both *l* and *r.* Whereas original Iranian words containing these sounds could have been read correctly, foreign names containing them were necessarily exposed to confusion from the very beginning. They might already have been misread by the speakers of Pahlavi.

The aforesaid may be sufficiently proved by the following examples quoted by Nöldeke, which I complete with comparisons from Mubaššir, as far as they have been taken over into his short extract. In order to facilitate the transcription, I follow the vocalization given in the Syriac text, although this is certainly not original:

(1) *l* for ρ: *'Aslīs* 68: antep. and *'Asīlīs* 74:12 Ὄσιρις; *'Ahlā'* 70:9 and *Hālē'* 40:7 = 42:12[33] Ἀρεῖον; *'Esqamlīs* 96:1 Σκάμανδρος; *l-Bā'bidlā'* 97:4 = Mubaššir 592:13 *ilà Bdl' (Ba/idlā?)* εἰς Ἄβδηρα[34]; *Qarṭi/īl* 169:14 Κράτερος; *Pīṭāpolis* 251:3 Φραταφέρνης; *Glēnīqos* 253:6 Γράνικος: *Pīlē'ā'* (with *siyāmē)* 50:7, 95:9 = Mubaššir 592:10 Πιερία; *Plīmaṭiōn* 137:8 Παρμενίων (Eth. 47:2 with further corruptions *Salmūs)*[35] etc.

32. See further examples mentioned by Budge, p. LXI, and their detailed refutation by Nöldeke, p. 11ff.

33. This name proves its Pahlavi origin not only by the exchange of the liquids but also by that of ' and ḫ: No wonder that it was vocalized in three different ways.

34. Budge (p. LXII) tried to explain the corrupt Syr. form through a miscopying of a supposed Ar. **bi-Abdīrā* (with *l* for *r).* Mubaššir's text proves, however, that in Arabic the misunderstood Syr. form was not only taken over with the already accomplished passing of *r* to *l* but also with the confusing superfluous use of two prepositions.

35. Weymann, l.c., p. 45.

Syr. *r.* for λ: *Rapītōn w-Qīlītrōn* 52:5[36] for Λαπιθῶν καὶ Κενταύρων; *Prā/ītīdos* 113:2 (but also *Platnīs* 125:8) Πλαταιᾶς; *'Aqrīdīs* 127:3 Εὐκλείδης; *'Āmōros* 133:3,5. Εὔμηλος; *Qandāros* 212 ff. (taken over in the same form into the Ethiopic version)[35] Κανδαύλης etc.

Nöldeke[37] continued his orthographico-phonetical argumentation for a Pahlavi *Vorlage* of the Syriac version with further instances of Greek names containing palatals (κ and the aspirate χ) and dentals (τ and θ) for which Pahlavi had only one respective sign and the confusion of which would not have been possible without the influence of the ambigious Pahlavi script. Although his examples are not exhaustive, they are quite convincing, and it is not necessary to repeat them.

Much stronger than this play with letters and sounds is the inner evidence of the Syriac version. It bears such strong traces of Persian constructions and idioms and contains so many superfluous explanations in Persian that it seems absolutely impossible that it could have passed through the channel of Arabic or to have been translated directly from Greek. From the numerous instances gathered by Nöldeke, to which he himself did not ascribe equal importance, I choose only the most convincing: The addressing of a high person in plural *(atton* 90, fem. *attên* 151 f.) is neither Greek nor Arabic nor originally Syriac, it is genuinely Persian. On p. 9 the names of the planets are explained in (Middle-)Persian, which was not at all necessary if the text had been translated from Arabic: "Ares, who is called in Persian *Wahrām...;* Nebo (Mercury) who is called in Persian Tir...; Bêl (Jupiter), who is called in Persian *Hozmārād (Hormazd)...;* Baltī (Venus), who is called in Persian *Ānāhid,* whereas in the late Ethiopic version, translated from Arabic, all planets bear genuinly Arabic names, some of them also with the Arabic article: *almastari*=Ar. *al-muštarī* for Jupiter, *elmarik*=Ar. *al-mirrīḫ* for: Mars and ᶜeṭāred=Ar. *ᶜuṭārid* for Mercury.

Furthermore, why should a Syro-Aramaean translating from Arabic have added that "copper" is called *parnōğ/ḡ* in Persian (9:7), or that Hector is called *Sōṭī*[38] (95: paen), "ass-goats" *karbōz* (211:8), "rhinoceros" *marqadad* or *bargadad*[39] (211: ult.) in the Persian language? There is no other way to explain all these unnecessary additions explaining in Persian the commonly known Syriac expressions than that the translator was translating directly from Middle Persian and retained some of its original Iranian expressions. Some explanatory glosses following literal renderings of idiomatic Persian expressions unusual in Syriac might, of course, be considered as later additions, but even this consideration is not absolutely necessary. There is no means to prove whether in *aklū(h)y a- kêt štā'ū(h)y laḥamrā* 237:10f. "they ate, i.e. they drank wine" the explanation of the well-known Iranian idiom "eat" *ḫ*ʷ*artan,* Mod.-Persian *ḫōrdan* for "drink", was added already by the translator or only by a later copyist. All that is certain is that the translator followed very closely, if not slavishly, the Iranian text[40].

Our text proves very good acquaintance with the geography of Iran, of which some ancient names were no more known to the Arabs. But there are also modern additions, esp. in the lists of names of peoples, which seem to be quite recent and prove that the copies were occasionally completed. Nöldeke[41] was not right in his proposed emendation of *Ṭūrāyē,* a commonly known name of the Syro-Aramaean Christians of Ṭūr 'Abdīn (in East Turkey), to *Torqāyē* "the Turks". This name is very well known to the Syro-Aramaeans until our day and its Syriac spelling[43] too consistently attested, prohibits this emendation.

Another strange name occurs in an anachronistic addition that Alexander "dismissed the troops of *Alomoḥdāyē"* (66:1). Strangely enough, no scholar attempted to explain this puzzling name missing in our Greek texts, although it seems to be nothing else but a corruption of Ar. *al-muwaḥḥidīn* "the Almohads", a strong Muslim dynasty which ruled in Northwest Africa in the 12th-13th century. In spite of the slight corruption it corresponds both verbatim and topographically; the proposed explana-

36. Budge (l.c.) supposed it to be a miscopying of his expected Ar. **rfytwn qyqntrwn.* However, the passing of *r* to *l* in the second name reinforces the proof of a Pahlavi *Vorlage.* This second name was omitted by Nöldeke.

37. L.c., p. 14f.

38. Probably allusion to a hero of an ancient Persian national saga whom we are no more able to identify (cf. also Nöldeke, p. 16).

39. Mod. Persian from is *kargadan.*

40. This strongest argument for a Pahlavi *Vorlage* certainly cannot be depreciated by a criticism raised by S. Gero after my lecture on this subject at the Second International congress of Greek and Arabic studies 1985, viz. that the explanatory notes in Persian could be sufficiently explained by the fact that the Syriac transmission of Pseudo-Callisthenes was limited to the Nestorian, i.e. Iranian territory. If such a principle could be made valid, it would deprive literary criticism of its most solid basis. May I illustrate it on two parallel examples: (1) When we are translating from ancient or even modern languages we often put in brackets typical idiomatic or other specific expressions and technical terms of the original in order not to deprive them of their original flavour in the translation. (2) Speakers of national languages in a bilingual or multilingual milieu (e.g. the Alsacians speaking German, the French in Canada, the bilingual Arabs in Israel etc.) may insert into their speech commonly understood words of the main language of the country, but they will certainly choose living modern and not ancient obsolete, dead expressions not understood any more by their listeners.

41. L.c., p. 15 bottom.

42. L.c., n. 5.

43. See Budge's Index of Syriac forms of proper names, s.v. (p. 282 a).

tion is corroborated by the Ar. article, and the anachronism of this phantastic addition need not disturb us, since anachronisms constitute an essential part of all fabulous stories.

The history of transmission of the Syriac text being obscure, we are unable to say when and how this strange late addition found its way into our modern manuscripts. It is, however, impossible that it could have originated in a Muslim head. The idea that Alexander destroyed a Muslim Empire in Northwest-Africa could hardly have entered the mind of the Muslims. It could have been added only by a Christian copyist after the history of the Almohads had become a legend which could hardly have been before the 15th or 16th century. From a late Christian Arabic copy it might have been taken over in a slightly Syrianized form into our recent Syriac manuscripts. Should this theory be true, it could mean that the Arabic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes rejected early by the Muslims, still continued to be copied and enlarged by the Christians after the 16th century. But this addition may most probably come from a late Christian Arabic version of the type mentioned by Nöldeke in his last chapter: *Letzte Ausläufer des Romans,* characterized by the accumulation of modern geographical names and paying special attention to Occidental regions (l.c., p. 55).

Since Islam is less mythological than Christianity, the Arabic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes had to undergo a thorough metamorphosis and to be completely islamized, while the Christians more tolerant to its mythologico-polytheistic traits were satisfied by christianizing it only slightly.

Under these circumstances, the Syriac translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes is not only the oldest but also the most complete Oriental version of the story which remained. It is noteworthy that it has been preserved only in the Nestorian script, the Jacobites having been satisfied with a concised version containing the Lagarde's edition only two and half pages (ch. IV B). Unfortunately, all the manuscripts are late, the most ancient (A 1709) being about thousands years later than the first copy. But the fact that it was still copied several times in the last century (B 1844, C 1851, D 1886, E 1889), proves that it remained more popular among the Syro-Aramaeans than the Arabic version among the Muslims who preferred later Iranian and Islamic versions. Greater differences between the Greek and the Syriac version were mentioned by Budge in the footnotes to his English translation and discussed at large by Nöldeke (l.c., pp. 18-24).

IV. Shorter Syriac Lives of Alexander

A. A Christian Legend and the metrical discourse of Jacob of Serūgh

The short story published by Budge under the title *Neshānā dAlexandros* "An Exploit of Alexander" as an appendix to his edition of the Syriac Pseudo-Callisthenes (pp. 255-275) and translated by him (pp. 144-158 of English text) is introduced as follows:

"An Exploit of Alexander the son of Philip the Macedonian, ... from the manuscripts in the house of the archives of the kings of Alexandria" (Budge). More detailed contents were given by Budge[44] and Nöldeke[45].

The story is based loosely upon chapters XXXVII – XXXIX of the second book of Pseudo-Callisthenes according to Müller's MS. C. The description of the Huns and of the gate which Alexander built is based on chapter XXIX of the third book of the same text. The differences between both versions are more important than their correspondences. The hero of the legend was already completely christianized. He trusted in God and believed in Christ, whose arrival he expected. He prayed: "O God, ... Thou hast made me horns *(qarnāṯā),* wherewith I might thrust down the kingdoms of the world..." (Syr. 257, transl. 147), and God encouraged him: *qarnāṯā dparzalā aw'īṯ brêšāḵ ...* I have made horns of iron to grow on thy head (that thou mayest thrust down the kingdoms of the earth with them...)" (Syr. 272, transl. 156). After having separated the beastly Huns from the rest of the world by building an iron wall, on which he set an inscription containing a banal prophecy, and having defeated the Persian king Tūbārlāq (!), he worshipped God in Jerusalem, returned to Alexandria, where he died and committed his golden throne to Christ.

Although the religious moral of this Christian legend is as weak as its historical background, it inspired the Syriac poet Jacob of Serūgh (d. 521) and exerted also great influence on the 18th Sura of the Koran (ch. VI A) and thereupon the whole Muslim tradition about Alexander.

The connections between the prosaic legend and the poem of Jacob of Serūgh are so obvious that Budge (l.c., p. LXXVII) meant that the former is only an abridged form of the latter; Nöldeke (l.c., p. 30) pleaded for the opposite opinion. Budge thought it improbable that the poetical version would be a work of Jacob of Serūgh; Nöldeke (l.c., n. 5) saw no

44. See n. 1 (a-c).
45. L.c., pp. 24-33.

serious reason to doubt the authenticity of the poem ascribed to Jacob of Serūgh in both extant manuscripts (Wright, *Catal.* 782a; Zotenberg, *Catal.* 5 b no 30).

The poem omits some details of the prosaic legend which might have seemed less important to the poet, e.g. he left out some confused geographical names as well as the names of the princes of the Huns and was satisfied with the Biblical names Gog and Magog (Ezechiel 38f.). On the other hand he augmented the apocalyptic elements of Alexander's prophecy comparing him with Jeremiah, Daniel, Isaiah, Hezekiah and Josiah[46]. His most remarkable additions are Alexander's journey to the land of darkness and his search of the water of life, which could hardly have been omitted by the author of the prosaic legend if they had been known to him. The description of the Huns is so vivid that the poet seems to have experienced one of their incursions[47]. The whole poem is encompassed with prayers and praises to Jesus Christ.

B. A brief Jacobite version

This *Bios aukêt dubbārē a(y)k̲ da-b̲pāsīqāṯā dAleksandros malkā dMaqdūnāyē* "The Life, or history in brief terms, of Alexander, king of the Macedonians" is a short but excellent extract from Pseudo-Callisthenes found in a mansucript from the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century (Wright, Catal. p. 984a). Although it contains only less than two and half pages in Lagarde's edition, it omits no event of historical importance but leaves out some fantastic legendary stories, although it briefly mentions "the deception by which Nectanebus deceived Alexander's mother when he committed adultery with her, according to which Alexander was attributed to Ammon, the god of Thebes, who was the forefather of all Egyptian kings." But since it is simply summarizing, it enters into no details. Its swift and sober style is not that of a fabulator. Its rendering of Greek names is closer to the Greek than in the Nestorian Pseudo-Callisthenes. It preserved fuller forms und regularly indicated Greek vowels with the *matres lectionis: Neqṭā'nā'bōs* Νεκταναβώς (not *Naqṭībōs); Pōrōs* Πῶρος (not *Pōr);* the name of Darius' daughter is used in a Greek form *Rwk̲sny* Ῥωξάνη (not *Rošnāq* – Pers. *Rowšanak).* But the second part of the summary (after Alexander's letter to Aristoteles) depends on

46. Cf. esp. the verses 544ff.

47. Cf. Nöldeke's historical calculations, l.c. p. 31. About further use of the legend in later Syriac literature and finally also in the Ethiopic version of the Life of Alexander the Great, see ibid. f.

the Nestorian version; and the proper names are close to those of the latter; even Πῶρος is no more called *Pōrōs* in Alexander's testament but shortly *Pōr.*

As a summary of principal events deprived of fabulatory character could this brief Jacobite version in no way influence further Oriental stories about Alexander. But it may be considered as an important witness of the age of the Syriac Pseudo-Callisthenes.

V. Jewish and Gnostic elements in Pseudo-Callisthenes?

A. A short mention of the life and deeds of Alexander, son of Philip, already occurs at the very beginning of the first book of the Maccabees, ch. 1: 1-9. It is a concised account of the historical facts, viz. Alexander's exploits, his death and the division of his empire, which serves as an introduction to the history of the Jews in the Seleucid times. It enters into no details, contains nothing legendary, and relates quite objectively that Alexander captured all countries and kingdoms with the help of his mighty, strong army (vv. 3f.), but it shows antipathy rather than sympathy to the conqueror (v. 5). Nevertheless, it proves that Alexander signified a turning point even in the history of the Jews.

A more detailed account is given by Josephus Flavius in the book XI, ch. VIII of his *Antiquitates Judaeorum.* A specific Jewish element of his story is a legend about the high priest Jaddua followed by a procession of priests in holy garments to encounter Alexander and to entreat him to save the city by pointing out passages in the Book of Daniel referring to him (Dan. 8:3-8, 20-22). The legendary trait of this report is proved already by the fact that the Book of Daniel is of later origin than Alexander[48].

The Latin version of Pseudo-Callisthenes of Leo the Archpresbyter was translated into Hebrew in the 9/10th cent. by Joseph ben Gorion, called Pseudo-Josephus or Josiphon. There were some more fabulous stories composed by Jews in the Middle Ages[49].

But there are also several Midrashic and Talmudic legends about Alexander or parallel stories and anecdotes. Therefore, a question of their influence on the different versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes had been raised. Nöldeke examined them and concluded that they contain no

48. The prophet Daniel already belongs to the Jewish romance of the 2nd century B.C., cf. Ruth Stiel, *Esther, Judith und Daniel* in: F. Altheim – R. Stiehl. Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden, pp. 195-213. Cf. here, ch. VI B.

49. For further details see Budge, l.c., pp. LXXXIII ff.

specifically Jewish elements and are, therefore, due to foreign, heathen influences rather than *vice versa.*[50]

B. Since Alexander the Great became a personality in which all Near Eastern religions were interested, it is not out of place to consider the question whether there are any parallels reminding of Pseudo-Callisthenes and related Oriental stories in the strongest syncretistic religious movement at the beginning of our era, the gnosticism. Since gnosticism was a religious system uninterested in this world and its historical events, one can, of course, not expect that it could have consciously paid attention to a conqueror of the world like Alexander, but the Gnostic mythos contains, at least, some motifs which could have served as a model for some utterly legendary parts of the story as Alexander's journey to the world of darkness and his search of the water of life which recall the most typical notions of Gnostic mythology. They also constitue the basis of the Mandaean mythology which, thanks to the survival of this Gnostic sect, has been completely preserved.

Unlike other Oriental religions, the Gnostics had no interest in introducing Alexander into their mythology and their legends. In the confused Mandaean world history in the eighteenth book of the Right Ginza he is simply mentioned among the Persian kings as *Bruq malka d-dilib̲ sandar ruhmaia qarilb̲* (ed. Petermann 383:14f.) "Bruq who is called *Sandar* (Alexander) the Roman"[51]. Both names of this Mandaean tradition offer special interest: The former (discussed in the footnote) may conceal a specific Oriental tradition about Alexander; the latter preserved a more original Persian form of the name Alexander which gave raise to the odd popular etymology discussed above (ch. II B in connection with Dīnawarī's relation). This is the more noteworthy as a genuine Iranian

50. For further details see Nöldeke, l.c., pp. 25-27.

51. See E.S. Drower – R. Macuch, A Mandaic Dictionary (M D) s. vv. *brug* and *sandar* (pp. 70a and 313b). Lidzbaqrski (Ginzā, p. 411:24) expected a lacuna after the name Bruq and indicated it with dots in his translation. Although this name is attested nowhere else, the following relative clause shows clearly that he was identified with Alexander. Possible etymologies would be: (a) "Flash, Lighting" (because of his speedy conquest of the world); (b) "of mixed colour" (according to the relation that his eyes were of different colour, cf. * *buraq* 2, *MD,* p. 57a); (c) one could also compare it wir Ar. *Burāq* the saddle-beast of the Muhammedan *mi'rāǧ*-legend, which took Muḥammad to the paradise, an allusion to Alexander's speedy legendary Bucephalus?). Although all these and other possible etymologies are merely tentative, the text hardly allows to suppose a text-break between *Bruq* and *Sandar.* It seems to be based on an ancient tradition about Alexander which – because of the isolated use of this ambigous name – we are not able to explain with certainty, but which we have to suppose.

literary source *Kārnāmak-i Arthaxšir-i Pāpākān,* written in Pahlavi not a very long time before the final redaction of the Mandaean Ginza[52], already has a form closer to the Greek: *Alaksandar a/hrūmik* "Alexander the Roman".[53]

But apart from this obviously late and short mention of Alexander, there is nothing in Mandaean writings which would directly remind of him.

The most important piece of Mandaean mythology, Hīb̲il-Zīwa's descent to the World of Darkness (5th book of the Right Ginza) contains nothing similar to Alexander's journey to the land of darkness as presented by Jacob of Serūgh. The water of life which Alexander sought in the land of darkness may be rather opposed to Mandaean *mia 'kumia* (Right Ginza, ed. Petermann, p. 145:4) "black water" in the world of darkness than to be compared with it.

VI. Islamic legends and the problem of 'D̲ū l-qarnain'

A. The Christian Syriac legend (ch. IV B) of Alexander endowed with horns *(qarnāṯā)* was the basis of the Koranic revelation about *D̲ū l-qarnain* "the Two-horned", Sūra 18:82/83-98, in which all characteristic pieces of information correspond to those of the legend[54]. It is noteworthy that even the story of the salted fish (Jacob of Serūgh, 175 ff.) which comes to life again in the water of life occurs in the same Sūra, although out of the context (v. 60/61) and its hero is not Alexander but Moses[55].

Since Muslim commentators had difficulties with this passage, they collected large material about the legend. Their traditions were summarized by the Persian scholar, 'Alī Akbar Dehkhodā in the encyclopedical work called *Loghat-nāme*[56]. In the following I give an extract of his

52. The Ginza was obviously redacted shortly after the Islamic conquest (see R. Macuch, *Anfänge der Mandäer* in: F. Altheim – R. Stiehl, *Die Araber in der alten Welt* II (1965, pp. 76-188, 589f.), chapter *Mandäer in frühislamischer Zeit,* pp. 176ff.

53. Just at the beginning of the text. As well as in the first book of Maccabees, ch. 1:1ff. (see A), even in Iranian sources a new period of history could not have been introduced without the mentioning of Alexander.

54. Nöldeke, l.c., p. 32 says rightly: "Nach seiner Gewohnheit hält Muhammed auch diese Erzählung etwas unbestimmt, sodass wir sie erst recht verstehn, nachdem wir die ursprüngliche Gestalt kennen."

55. Ibid.

56. *Loghatnāme,* s.v. *D̲ū l-qarnain,* pp. 96a-114b of the vol. *d̲āl* (Tehran 1329 ḫoršīdī). Although many hands were working on this Persian Encyclopedia before and after the death of its founders, this article seems to have been written or, at least, redacted by Dehkhodā himself.

lengthy article[57].

According to Bal'amī in his Persian translation of Ṭabarī's Chronicle, Alexander is called *Ḏū l-qarnain* because he came from one corner of the world to the other. *Qarn* means in Arabic not only "horn", but also the "corners of the world", one corner being the place where the sun rises, another where it sets down.

After the explanation of this epithet, there follows a legendary account of the revelation of the Koranic passage, 18:82/83:98, related by 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās and an explanation of the passage verse by vers. 'Abd Allāh 'Abbās relates: The unbelieving Meccans wanted to test the Prophet. So they sent Abū Ğahl b. Hišām to the Jews of Khaibar and adjacent Arabian regions asking them to come with him to Muhammad with some problems mentioned in the Torah and to question him about them. After his return Abū Ğahl came with the Jews and Meccan chieftains to Muhammad and asked him about the Great Spirit, the *aṣḥāb al-kahf* and *Ḏū l-qarnain.* The Prophet had no knowledge of these things and told them to wait until Gabriel comes and brings him news from Allah, but he forgot to say: *in šā'a llāh.* As a result of this omission, Gabriel did not appear to him for fifteen days. The unbelievers rejoiced and said: "Muḥammad had been forgotten by his God." The Prophet became anxious. But on the fifteenth day Gabriel came to him and after a lengthy reproach because of his omission of the formula he revealed him both stories contained in the Sura 18.[58]

The new etymology of the name "Two-horned" seemed to be sufficiently proved by the Koranic revelation: *balaġa maġriba š-šamsi* (v. 84-86) and *balaġa maṭli'a š-šamsi* (v. 89-90). Already in the West, *Ḏū l-qarnain* behaved like a Muslim. According to 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās, he remained one year with his whole army in the West and called the Occidentals to God. Nobody followed him except one person. So he killed all of them and left only that one person alive. Some people say that he was the first king over the whole East and West and that God made him a prophet, which is based on *qulnā yā ḏā l-qarnain* (v. 85-86). This is followed by a discussion whether Allah's word to him was *waḥy* or *ilhām,* i.e. whether he spoke to him as to a prophet, or he simply spoke to his heart. The commentators are not unanimous about this matter.

After *balaġa maṭli'a š-šamsi (v. 89/90)* there is a lengthy discussion of his legendary deeds in the East, especially how he protected the Muslims against the two wild peoples, *Ya'ğūğ* and *Ma'ğūğ,* of which nobody knows the number except God. Those *Ya'ğūğ* and *Ma'ğūğ* were originally two brothers, sons of Japheth, son of Noah, who after the flood were thrust behind the two hills which form the eastern border of the world. From these two brothers they mutliplied exceedingly. They resemble human beings, but their statures are elbow-sized and they have wide and long ears which they drag on the earth. They live naked and copulate in front of each other like animals. They sleep in one ear and cover themselves with the other. They have no religion and know no God. None of them dies before giving birth to a thousand of others. Every time they came out from behind those hills, they were a disaster for the Muslims, they killed and ate everybody, they swallowed all plants and trees with the fruits, and the Muslims were unable to defend themselves against them. Therefore, they came to *Ḏū l-qarnain* and said to him: *inna Ya'ğūğa wa-Ma'ğūğa mufsidūna fī l-arḍi* etc. (v. 93-94). With their help he built the iron and brass wall between the two hills in order to prevent Ya'ğūğ and Ma'ğūğ from incursions. The apocalyptic prophecy of *Ḏū l-qarnain* that at the end of time in the day of resurrection the wall will become a heap of dust was revealed by Ījad (sic, not: Allah) to the Prophet (v. 98). 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib and 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās interpreted this verse as follows: "At the beginning of the resurrection Ya'ğūğ an Ma'ğūğ will come out. They will devour all the food that is on earth and drink out all the water that is in the earth from the rivers and the seas and all the sources will dry up. Hunger and thirst will fall upon the creatures. At that time, Isrāfīl will blow the trumpet. At its first sound all creatures will die." Then the Commander of the Faithfull 'Alī continued: "Ya'ğūğ and Ma'ğūğ try all the time to break the wall of *Ḏū l-qarnain* by licking it, but they cannot break it ... Every day they say: 'To-morrow we shall break it through and come out', but they do not say: *in šā'a llāh...* When the time of their coming out will approach, a Muslim will appear among them. When they come again to the wall and lick it, in the evening they will say: 'We made it thin. To-morrow we shall come and break it'. That Muslim will add: *in šā'a llāh.* On the next day, they will come and break it through and come out, as our Prophet Muḥammad, the Chosen one, said. Now, I have proved the Torah of Moses kept by the Jews. What do you say

57. Some traditions are quoted extensively, others abruptly. The good effect of the article is marred by the lack of strictly chronological arrangement of the material and almost complete omission of exact references as well as by constant useless repetitions of the whole Koranic passage about *Ḏū l-qarnain* not only in original but also in Persian translation.

58. Muḥammad might have needed a longer time to gather information about both legends, of which the first one about *aṣḥāb al-kahf* (the seven sleepers of Ephesus) is exclusively Christian, and the second about *ḏū l-qarnain,* although bound to no religious confession, also follows the Christian Syriac pattern.

now? Do you believe or not?" Abū Ǧahl answered: "What should I say, sorcerers and actors (?)[59]. We do not at all believe." They (the Meccans?)[60] said: "You are a sorcerer as well as Moses", and they did not believe.

This story of the revelation of the passage about *Ḏū l-qarnain* is followed by a concised report about Alexander's death, the division of his empire and his successors in the East and the West until Jesus, son of Maryam. Between Alexander and Jesus there were 316 years.

Another longer relation from Bal'amī's translation of Ṭabarī under the title *hadīṯ Dārā' wa-yuqālu Dārā' al-akbar* is an Iranized and Islamized version of Pseudo-Callisthenes. It omits the question of Alexander's conception and birth (cf. Ar. ed. de Goeje I, 692ff.). He was son of Philip, called both Alexander and *Ḏū l-qarnain*. The story starts with Dārā's conflict with Philip about the tribute which Alexander refused to pay. Along the main lines it follows Pseudo-Callisthenes, but it often recurs to Koranic and other Islamic traditions. It mentions also some differences between the Koran-readers and emphasizes the assertion of 'Abdallah b. 'Abbās that *Ḏū l-qarnain* was already a Muslim. There were only four kings of the whole world before Islam. Two of them were believing: *Sulaimān* and *Ḏū l-qarnain*, and two of the, unbelieving: Nebukadnezzar and Nemrod.

As to his title, *Ḏū l-qarnain*, there are many discrepancies. The following explanations have been attempted: (a) because he was the king of both Rome and Persia; (b) he had two horns on his head; (c) he had two curls on his head which are called in Arabic *qarn;* (d) he saw in a dream that he took both sides of the sun in his hand, which was explained that he will be the king of both the East and the West; (e) he was of noble origin from both the paternal and the maternal side; (f) during his life there died as many people as in two centuries, and he remained alive; (g) he fought in a double way with the hand and on the horse; (h) he had common and secret wisdom; (i) he went through both light and darkness.

As to *Ya'ǧūǧ* and *Ma'ǧūǧ*, 'Āṣim and A'raǧ read both with *hamza* the rest of the Koran-readers without *hamza (Yā'ǧūǧ wa-Mā'ǧūǧ).* Several explanations of these names are given: (a) an etymological attempt from *aǧīǧ an-nār* "the burning of fire", since because of their plenty they spread over like burning fire; (b) they are from the descendants of Japheth, son of Noah *(Wahb Munabbih);* (c) they belong to the Turkish race *(Ḍaḥḥāk);* (d) they descend directly from Adam, not from Eva: when

59. *sāḥerān wa taẓāhorān ya'nī ta'āwonān*
60. The subject of the verb *goftand* (p. 94a) is not expressed and remains unclear.

God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, water came out of his body, God mixed it with dust and created *Ya'ǧūǧ* and *Ma'ǧūǧ (Ka'b)* etc. Their corruption was beyond measure. God sent Alexander against them and in a longer conversation promised him strenth and help. The whole story of building the iron and brass wall with the apocalyptic prophecy is repeated.

The author of *Moǧmel ot-tawāriḫ wa-l-qiṣaṣ* in the chapter *Iskandar ar-Rūmi wa-huwa Ḏū l-qarnain aṯ-ṯānī* says: "According to the Persians, Dara married the daughter of Fīliqūs, king of Greece and she became pregnant by him. Then for a certain reason, which is related in its place, he sent her back to her father without knowing that she was pregnant by him. After she brought forth, Fīliqūs named the boy Alexander and adopted him. He said: 'It would be humiliating for me, if people said that Dārā repelled mu daughter', and he kept the secret. The Persians call him Dārā, sob of Dārāb." There are many tales about his origin. One of them is in the *Sekandar-nāmeh* (Pseudo-Callisthenes): Bakhtianos (sic) after having lost the kingdom of Egypt deceived through his sorcery Fīliqūs' daughter, Olemfīd, who then brought forth Eskandar from him. And several senseless stories are told about his mother. But there is no doubt that she was Fīliqūs' daughter.

According to Ǧarīr's (Ṭabarī's) History, *Ḏū l-qarnain* who sought with the prophet Khiḍr for the water of life lived in the time of Abraham, and *Ḏū l-qarnain*, who is mentioned in the Koran, *sūra al-kahf* (:18) (and) lived after Moses, is Sekandar the Roman, called also Macedonian. He is called "the second Two-horned".

Bīrūnī reports in *al-Āṯār al-bāqīya* that Iskandar the Greek, whom some people call "the Two-horned", set out at the age of twenty six years to wage war with Dārā. During his expedition, he stayed with the Jews in Jerusalem and ordered them to abandon the Mosaic and Davidic era and imposed them his own era beginning with the 27th year of his age, etc.[61]

Ibn Balḫī in *Fārsnāme* (p. 16) traces down his genealogy from Fīliqūs to Abraham. On pp. 56ff. of the same book (ch. *Iskandar Ḏū l-qarnain)* he says: "Iskandar is a cognomen like *Qaiṣar* (Caesar) or *Kisrā* (Khosrow) and means 'king'. *Ḏū l-qarnain* means 'owner of two horns', and these two horns are in the East and the West. His proper name was reported as Fīliqūs. His genealogy was mentioned above in its proper place." Then he enumerates his qualities: his philosophical wisdom, piety, submission to God, generosity, goodness and justice. He conquered the

61. See Sachau's edition, p. 28.

whole world, and his deeds are much more numerous than could be written in this summary. Since, however, this book concerns the kings of Persia and their history, three reasons for his coming to Persia must be mentioned: (1) Dārā sent him drastic messages asking for tribute and threatening to invade his country. (2) The minister of his father knew this Dārā, informed Iskandar of his wrongdoings and encouraged him against him, (3) This Dārā was a cruel tyrant and his minister was a wicked person and gave him bad advice, so that the army as well as the people hated and despised him. Under these circumstances, the people of Persia expected him as their liberator. In a letter he reported to his teacher Aristoteles about his success which he attributed to heavenly help. Aristoteles gave him philosophico-political advice about how to proceed with the nobles and the people in Persia. He set Greek *(rūmī)* inspectors in the country and went to India and China. An account of these expeditions would be very long. He built twelve cities with the help of Greek and Egyptian artisans. People say that he also built the provinces of Herat, Isfahan and Merw. He lived 36 years and reigned 13 years. He had a son to whom the kingdom was offered. He did not, however, accept it, but dedicated his life to ascetism and wisdom.

Ibn al-Aṯīr says in *al-Muraṣṣa': D̲ū l-qarnain* is Iskandar the Roman, whose story has been mentioned in the *sūra al-kahf* (:18). He was a righteous king, and some people pretend that he was a prophet. Sometimes also Hermes b. Maimūn, 'Amr b. Mund̲ir Laḫmī and Mund̲ir b. Mā'hi s-samā' are called *D̲ū l-qarnain*".

Sam'āni in "Genealogies" *(Ansāb)* under the title *D̲ū l-qarnain* says: "This is a cognomen of Alexander the Roman, and he was called so, because he bore two copper sheets on his head. Another version is that he had two hornlets covered with the hat. One also says that he was called so, because he reached both the East and the West etc. Some people say: 'His name was aṣ-Ṣa'b b. Ǧābir b. al-Qalamos. He lived one thousand and six hundred years. Others say: 'His name was Marzubān b. Marwīya the Greek from the children of Yūn, son of Japheth, son of Noah."

The commonly known islamic traditions are repeated also in *Qāmūs al-a'lām: "D̲ū l-qarnain* mentioned in the Koran is Alexander, son of Philip. He was called so, because he reigned over East and West, and according to another relation he had two horns on his crown. It is reported that he went to China and built a big wall against Ya'ǧūǧ and Ma'ǧūǧ. One also says that he went down to the land of darkness to look for the water of life. But he himself did not reach that water, only Khiḍr who was

in the front line of his army reached it and drank from it. There is a disagreement whether he was a prophet or only one of the saints. Ibn a-Aṯīr and some other famous historians thought that he is *D̲ū l-qarnain* of the Koran, but other Islamic historians contested this opinion and meant that *D̲ū l-qarnain* lived before Abraham and was one of the kings of Yemen who enlarged his kingdom to India and China, and according to a tradition, he also went to the land of darkness. But on the other hand, nothing is known of such a world-conqueror in Yemen, and the rampart of Ya'ǧūǧ and Ma'ǧūǧ is the same wall which the Chinese emperors built. On the other hand, historians contemporary with Iskandar the Roman reported that he went to Mesopotamia and to the Northwest of India, but they reported nothing of his further exploits, or that he would have gone to the land of darkness. Under these circumstances, the problem of *D̲ū l-qarnain*, his epoch and his going down to the land of darkness is very puzzling and obscure, and the affirmation that one of the kings of Yemen called *D̲ū l-qarnain* had the Greek name Iskandar is one of the most surprising."

A further account of Bīrūnī from the Persian translation of his *al-Āṯār al-bāqīya* concerning "the truth *(ḥaqīqat* = Ar. *mā'iyya)* of *D̲ū l-qarnain*" (cf. ed. Sachau, pp. 36-42) is reproduced. He says that he was forced to treat this subject in a separate chapter, because if he had simply followed former historians, it would have impaired the appropriate order of a historiographical work. But he merely repeats the opinions of the other Muslim writers, including *D̲ū l-qarnain*'s journey to the land of darkness, the story of Ya'ǧūǧ and Ma'ǧūǧ etc. Moreover, he emphasizes that the "Two-horned" whom he identifies with Alexander, son of Philip, brought sacrifice on the famous altar of Jerusalem. He repeats the current Muslim explanation of the epithet: he reached both "horns" of the sun the East and the West, and he compares it formally with the epithet of Ardašīr Bahman named *Dirāz-dast* (Artaxerxes Longimanus) who was called so on account of his influence in his entire kingdom, as if his hand had been able to touch everything. Another explanation is that the "two horns" mean Rome and Persia. The Persian version of his origin is repeated. Philip is called his father only as his fosterer. In spite of that, his genealogy is traced back to Abraham not from his physical father Dārā (I) but from his foster-father Philip. According to a popular tradition *D̲ū l-qarnain* was a man named Uṭrukus (?) and waged war with *S/Ṣamīrus* (?) (ed. Sachau, p. 40-9), one of the kings of Babylon, and defeated him. He cut off Ṣamīrus' head with his hair and two tresses, he tanned it and put it on his head. That is why he is called the "Two-horned". Another tradition

says that *Ḏū l-qarnain* is Munḏir b- Mā'i s-samā', i.e. Munḏir b. Imru' al-Qais. People said the most unbelievable stories about this name. Some say that he was a jinn ... A tradition about 'Omar b. Khaṭṭāb says that he saw a group discussing about *Ḏū l-qarnain*. He said to them: "Do you not have enough to talk about people that you jumped from them to angels?" According to another tradition *Ḏū l-qarnain* was Ṣa'b b. Ḥammāl the Ḥimyarite, and Ibn Duraid discussed this subject in the book *Wišāḥ*. Others say that *Ḏū l-qarnain* is Abū Karb who is identical with Šamr Yar'aš b. Afrīqus the Ḥimyarite. He was called so, because his two plaits of hair were hanging over his shoulders. He reached the east and the west, the north and the south of the earth, conquered countries and subdued people. The most probable among all these traditions is that he was a Yemenite, because the use of *aḏwā'* (plural of the particle *ḏū)* is very frequent in Yemenite personal names, cf. *Ḏū l-manār, Ḏū l-aḏ'ār, Ḏū š-šanātir, Ḏū Nuwās, Ḏū Ğadan, Ḏū Yazan* etc., and their stories are very similar to those of *Ḏū l-qarnain* in the Koran. However, as to the wall he built, the Koran did not localize it, and geographical books say that Ya'ğūğ and Ma'ğūğ are parts of the Eastern Turks living at the beginning of the fifth and the sixth climate. According to Ṭabarī and Ibn Ḫordāḏbeh some people saw the mentioned wall, which ought to be in the extreme northwest of human habitation. But the inhabitants cannot be Muslims and have heard nothing of the Kahlif and of the Kahlifate. They cannot speak Arabic either, because the last Muslims, the Bulgars' and the *Sawārs,* of whom we know to be at the end of the inhabited world and of the seventh climate, and who read the *ḫutba* in the name of the Kahlif, do not speak Arabic but a language related to that of the Turks and Khazars, and they know nothing of that wall either. This is what I wanted to say about the reality of *Ḏū l-qarnain* ...". (pp. 59-66 of the Persian translation of Bīrūnī).

In the book *Habīb as-siyar* (ed. Tehran, p. 16), there are the following stories about *Ḏū l-qarnain* the Great: "According to the most accepted tradition, his noble name was Eskandar Fīliqūs. People affirm that *Ḏū l-qarnain* is nobody else but Eskandar the Roman who became the king of the kingdoms of the world. As to the first tradition, there are contradictions about his genealogy. Some say that he was a son of poor old woman whom a generous benefactor brought up to the highest degree of power.

In *Rauḍat aṣ-ṣafā* it is written that the genealogy of *Ḏū l-qarnain* goes back to Japheth, son of Noah. Simlarly there are disagreements about his name as *Ḏū l-qarnain*. Some say that he was called so because he went to both sides of the world, East and West. According to others he was of noble origin from both sides, father and mother.

The author of *Mutūn al-aḫbār* says: he was called *Ḏū l-qarnain*, because the two side-plates on his helmet were made of brass, or of copper, or of iron, or of gold. From those who pretend that he wove two plaits of hair on his head ... there is a tradition that he was neither king nor prophet but a righteous servant (of God). He was struck on his right horn in obedience to God, he died, and God resuscitated him. He was struck on his left horn, he died, and God resuscitated him again. That is why he is called *Ḏū l-qarnain*. The same author of *Mutūn al-aḫbār* reported about him that he was a prophet. God sent him to a people, but they called him a liar. They beat him on the horns of his head and killed him. But God the Highest resuscitated him. That is why he is called *Ḏū l-qarnain*. Therefore, the two traditions about his prophethood are also contradictory.

In *Rauḍat aṣ-safa* also a tradition of Muğāhid from 'Abd Allah b. 'Omar is mentioned: *Ḏū l-qarnain* the Great belongs to the prophets, because God honoured him by speaking directly to him: *Qulnā yā ḏā l-qarnain* (v. 85/86). This is the way in which God spoke directly only to the prophets ... There is also disagreement about the time in which he lived. The translator of Ṭabarī's History thought that he was contemporary with Abraham. According to others he was contemporary with Jesus. In *Rauḍat aṣ-ṣafā* it is written that *Ḏū l-qarnain* the Great, although being an independent ruler, was earning his living by the weaving of baskets. According to a tradition, he ruled forty years ..., according to another he lived six hundred years, and the people-of-the-book say that he lived three thousand years."

A tradition from Sanān b. Ṯābit al-Aṣbaḥī says: *Ḏū l-qarnain* the Great was sent after the prophet Ṣāliḥ. He lived in Europe and started a holy war against the unbelievers. First he turned to the west and was busy one year with its conquest. If somebody did not follow the *šarī'a* and the right path, he twisted his head and cut it off. Then he went to Jersualem and continued the holy war in the east until he came to a land (city) in the neighbourhod of Ya'ğūğ and Ma'ğūğ who belong to the descendants of Yapheth. *Ḏū l-qarnain* took care of raising a rampart and prevented Ya'ğūğ and Ma'ğūğ from practicing corruption in the country, as the Noble Koran says. Then he came to the brahmans and discussed with them. It is also reported that he went to the land of darkness and to the source of the water of life, and Khiḍr who was his minister and son of his aunt went ahead. The author of *Mutūn al-aḫbār* obviously confused this matter, because *Ḏū l-qarnain* the Great lived after Moses, and Elijah was

from the offspring of Aaron and was sent after the prophet Ezechiel (sic) to strengthen the Mosaic religion. And it is a common opinion of the historians that Elijah remaind alive because of his angelic nature and because he freed himself of human desires, not because of his drinking of the water of life. But according to the legend, Elijah and Khiḍr accompanied *Ḏū l-qarnain* in that journey, found the water of life, drank from it and remaind eternal and stayed in that place until Alexander came. He asked them why they stayed there and they praised their happiness. He asked them for a glass of water. They hurried to the source but could not find it again" etc.

B. The islamic traditions show a very manifold, confused and contradictory picture of Alexander the Great. In order to do away with the traditional confusions, a modern Islamic scholar Abū l-Kalām Āzād attempted a new solution to the problem of *Ḏū l-qarnain*, which he published in Persian translation[62]. The author meant to find a definitive solution to the obscure and complicated problem. Scholars were occupied for centuries with the problems connected with this name, but none of them was able to propose a plausible historical solution. The author hopes to propose a definitive solution, to remove the veil from the personality of *Ḏū l-qarnain* and to give a satisfactory answer to all questions connected with this problem.

(1) The whole Koranic passage about *Ḏū l-qarnain* (18:82-98) contains an answer to a question addressed to the Prophet. Tirmiḏī, Nisā'ī and Imām Aḥmad related that the Quraishites, after a consultation with Jewish scholars, asked the Prophet several questions, one of which was about *Ḏū l-qarnain*. They said to him: "Tell us about a prophet, whose name is mentioned only once in the Torah." He asked them: "Who is that?" They answered: "*Ḏū l-qarnain*". It is mentioned also in the commentaries of Ibn Ğarīr, Ibn Kaṯīr and Suyūṭī.

Since the Koran mentions no other name, the commentators were puzzled by the problem of its identification. Their first question was: Is it a name or a surname? Since there was no king with this surname in history, they attempted different allegorical explanations, of which the most ancient were collected by Ṭabarī in his Commentary. The second question which occupied their minds was whether *Ḏū l-qarnain* was a prophet or not, a human being or an angel. From Ṭabarī's collection of ancient traditions it appears that he lived in very ancient times. According to some he was a contemporary of Abraham and was considered as a prophet. Even Bukhārī counted him among the prophets and even thought that he might have lived before Abraham. After more serious methods of historical research were introduced, some scholars turned their minds yowards Yemen, and since Ḥimyarite kings bore names composed with *Ḏū* (cf. *Bīrūnī, al-Āṯār al-bāqīya,* ed. Sachau, p. 40), one thought it would not be impossible that he could have been a Yemenite. Even Ibn Khaldūn followed Bīrūnī in this opinion, which, however, is only a onesided hypothesis contradicting all reasonable possibilities. People who asked the Prophet were either Jews or Quraishites instructed by the Jews and could hardly have been stasfied by an answer about a Yemenite king. Even if we suppose that they were simply Quraishites without Jewish instruction, it would not help, because there is no such story of a Yemenite king which would correspond to the Koranic story. Moreover, the opponents of the Prophet wanted to try him with a question which could not have been known to him from the Arabian traditions. Even the story of the dam of Ma'rib would not suffice to compare it with the wall of Ya'ğūğ and Ma'ğūğ, since there is no mention that his dam would have been built to prevent people from incursions or that it would have been constructed with iron plates. Apart from that, the dam of Ma'rib is mentioned in the Koran in another place (34:15/16), and there is no resemblance between it and the rampart of *Ḏū l-qarnain*. Finally, the Muslims decided to identify this person with Alexander the Macedonian who was famous as the conqueror of East and West. It seems that Ibn Sīnā pointed out for the first time in his *Kitāb aš-šifā'* that Aristoteles was the teacher of Alexander who is named *Ḏū l-qarnain* in the Koran. Imām Fakhr ad-dīn Rāzī followed Ibn Sīnā in this opinion in his famous Commentary, although not without mentioning other opinions. We can, however, say with absolute certainty that Alexander was not a believer or a righteous man, and there is no reason to compare him with *Ḏū l-qarnain* of the Koran or to justify this surname for him.[63]

(2) The commentators could reach no satisfactory conclusion about the person of *Ḏū l-qarnain*. It is not surprising, because they chose the wrong method. The question was asked by the Jews, and it is not possible to answer it without consulting their holy books.

In the book ascribed to the prophet Daniel, chapter 8, there is the following vision: "there stood before the river a ram which had two horns (v.

62. The Loghatnāme rarely gives exact references, and Dehkhodā omitted to indicate the volume of the periodical. I was, therefore, not able to retrace the original of this article. But on the other hand, its contents are reproduced with all details, and the Persian translation may be considered as a sufficient substitute for the original.

63. The author was obviously unaware of the Syriac Christian legend (ch. IV A).

3) I saw the ram pushing westward and northward, and southward; so that no beasts might stand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand; but he did according to his will and became great. (v. 4) And as I was considering, behold, a he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth ... and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. (v. 5) And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had seen standing before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power" (v. 6) etc.

The vision was explained to Daniel by Gabriel (v. 16) as follows (vv. 20 ff.): "The ram which thou sawest having two horns are the kings of Media and Persia. And the rough goat is the king of Grecia" etc.

The reconstruction is made as follows: The founder of the Achaemenid Empire, Cyrus the Great, who united Media and Persia, is represented in the vision as the two-horned ram. And the one-horned goat running against him in the fury of his power is Alexander the Macedonian who destroyed the Achaemenid Empire. It may be significant that the Hebrew text of this part of the book of Daniel uses the dual form *lō qᵉrānāyim* ("he has, or had two horns") similarly to Arabic *ḏū l-qarnain*.

The author, Abū l-Kalām Āzād, was aquainted with the European critical Bible research and knew that Daniel's vision was a *vaticinium ex eventu,* since the book was written after both Cyrus the Great and Alexander. Nevertheless, the fictive putting of the vision into the third year of the reign of the Babylonian king Belshazzar, i.e. a short time before Cyrus' uniting of Persia and Media and his capture of Babylon has a special significance: Nobody but Cyrus could have been meant by the two-horned ram, and nobody but Alexander could be symbolized by the one-horned goat of the vision. This interpretation is corroborated by the historical fact that Cyrus, after his capture of Babylon, freed the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, ordered them to return to their original homeland and to rebuild the temple of their god and their city. He is, therefore, considered as the greatest benefactor of the Jews in their whole history. This found a very positive echo in the postexilic holy books of the Jews (see below). Should therefore *Ḏū l-qarnain* of the Koran have been mentioned in the Torah – a term used by the Muslims as *pars pro toto* for the whole Old Testament including the Torah, the Prophets and the Hagiographa –, he can be identified only with Cyrus the Great. The author's comparison of the deeds of Cyrus the Great according to Daniel's vision with those of *Ḏū l-qarnain* in the Koran is, of course, not exact, and the directions in which he expanded his empire, are not designated simply as westward and eastward, as in the Koran (18:84/86, 89/90), but "westward, and northward, and southward" (Daniel 8:4). But it would be foolhardy to expect exact textual correspodence between both texts. The last two directions indicated in the book of Daniel could easily be equalled with the second one mentioned in the Koran and the formal resemblance of the deeds of Cyrus with those of the Koranic *Ḏū l-qarnain* is not great, so that the ambigious answer of the Prophet could easily have satisfied the Arabian Jews, so far as no concrete name but only the epithet was mentioned.

The author corroborates his point of view by quoting other prophecies contained in the "Torah" and pertaining to Cyrus (Hebr. *Koreš),* viz. Isaiah and Jeremiah as well as by the testimony of Ezrah, according to which the prophecies of Daniel should have come to the ears of Cyrus and moved him to protect the Jews, to grant them liberty and to order them to rebuild their temple.

Isaiah, after having talked of the destruction of Jerusalem through the Babylonians, announced the following consolation of the Lord: "(I am the Lord) that saith of Cyrus: He is my shephard, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying to Jerusalem: Thou shalt be sure, even saying to Jerusalem: Thou shalt be built; and to the temple: Thy foundation shall be laid." (Is. 44:28). And again: "Thus saith the Lord to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I have holden, to subdue nations before him; and I will loose the loins of the kings, to open before him the two leaved gates; and the gates shall not be shut" etc. (Is. 45:1-4). In the following chapter (46:12) Cyrus (although without being named) is compared to an "eagel of the East" (in the text: *mimmizraḥ 'ayiṭ* "a ravenous bird from the east") that executes God's counsel. Less obvious are the prophecies of Jeremiah foretelling the fall of Babel, in which Cyrus is not mentioned, although they had been brought in connection with him in the book of Ezra 1:1.

The author informs about the results of European, esp. German *Bibliokritik,* according to which the book Isaiah has been divided for philologico-historico-critical reaons into three parts: Proto-Isaiah (ch. 1-39), Deutero-Isaiah (ch. 40-55) and Trito-Isaiah (ch. 56-66), dating them respectively 160 years before Cyrus, in the time of Babylonian captivity and after it. Since these three parts show essential ideologico-theological divergences, they cannot be ascribed to the same person. The changing of a (henothesistic) national Jewish god to a (monotheistic) universal God is a merit of Trito-Isaiah[64]. Similarly the prophecy of Jeremiah

64. The editor of the *Loġatnāme* used this occasion for making the following footnote: "This research shows clearly that the monotheistic idea of one God is of Aryan-Iranian, not of Semitic-Hebrew origin" (p. 110c n. 3).

about the liberation from the Babylonian captivity and the reconstruction of the temple could not have taken place sixty years before these events, but must have been added to the book later. And the book of Daniel was composed in the Hellenistic era, probably not before the sixties of the second century B.C.[65] But the respect and enthusiasm for Cyrus, the anointed of God, who captured Babylon and freed the Jews from captivity, is clear from all these prophecies notwithstanding the date of their composition. This enthusiasm is confirmed also by the book of Ezra, according to which "the Lord stirred up the spirit of Cyrus of Persia" and Cyrus himself said: "The Lord God of heaven hath given me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him a house at Jerusalem" (Ezra 1:1f.). Whatever may be the truth about the composition of the book ascribed to Daniel and about the historicity of its author, the "Two-horned" of this book points clearly to Cyrus and to nobody else. All that is important for our subject is the prophetic tradition of the Jews seeing in Cyrus a chosen and anointed man of God and his true servant, to whom God subdued all the countries of the world. He is the "Two-horned" of the book of Daniel mentioned only once in the "Torah", about whom the Arabian Jews, according to the ancient Muslim tradition discussed above, asked the Prophet. Corresponding to his Hebrew description *lō qᵉrānāyim* "he has/d two horns", they could give him no other Arabic epithet than *Ḏū l-qarnain*, since they wanted to conceal his proper name in order to make their riddle more difficult.

(3) The last argument of the author, which is also the most important in his view, is archaeological: a relief of Cyrus known already at the beginning of the last century found about fifty miles from the river Morghāb (Pasargade) and published and discussed several times[66]. It represents Cyrus in overlife size in the usual dress of the Assyrian and ancient Persian kings with a crown on his head. The bottom of the crown really consists of two horns, of which one points forwards and the other backwards. This must, however, have been conditioned by the nature of the relief showing the figure in profile looking to the right, whereas the crown should have been shown *en face*[67]. This is proved by another accessory

65. The author mentions the year 164 B.C. according to Max Loehr. See also R. Stiehl. WZKM 53/1956, pp. 4-22, and in F. Altheim – R. Stiehl, *Die aramäische Sprache unter den Achaimeniden,* pp. 195-213, esp. the last page.

66. J. Morier, Travels, plate 29, no. 5; R.K. Porter, plate 13; A. Forster, *On Primeval Language,* II (1851); M. Dieulafoy, *L'art antique de la Perse,* I, p. 29ff. and plates 12ff.; Saint-Martin, JA, t.2, 1823; *Mém. de l'Acad. d'Inscriptions et de Belles Lettres,* t. 12. Forster's picture of the relief was republished in the *Logatnāme,* vol. ḏ, p. 113.

67. The crown has been identified as "ägyptische Krone mit der Uräusschlange" by F.H.

of the figure: the open wings which are also traced *en face* as if they were rooted in the left side behind the figure, which was imagined as having six pairs of wings, although the right wing of the middle pair is missing, probably because the sculptor wanted to show the right forearm of the king, and the right wing of the middle pair would have prevented him from doing so.

The figure was recognized as Cyrus already before the deciphering of the cuneiforms. But the identity is confirmed also by an inscription which originally was in the upper part of the relief and has been later separated from it. It is written in the three official languages of the Achaemenid Empire, Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian. The Old Persian text says:

1 *adam: Kūruš: xšāya* "I am Cyrus the

2 *ϑiya: Haxāmanišiya* king, the Achaemenid"[68]

The identity being thus confirmed, there can be no doubt that Cyrus was represented with a crown reposing on two horns and is fully entitled to the epithet of the "Two-horned". Abū l-Kalām Āzād argued that the wings with which he is represented recall the "eagle from the east", Is. 46:11. But to me this picture recalls rather the seraphim, of which "each one had six wings", Is. 6:2. Although the mental connection between Isaiah's vision of the seraphim and the picturem which our sculptor made of Cyrus is not quite clear, there seems to have been a common idea of Oriental phantasy in both representations of higher beings.

(4) The final aim of the author was to prove that the historical deeds and personal qualities of Cyrus correspond to those of *Ḏū l-qarnain* in the Koran. For this purpose he tried to reconstruct his history and to compare it with the Koranic legend. Such a reconstruction on the basis of Greek historians (Herodot, Xenophon, Ktesias) and archaeological funds is necessary, since the Iranians themselves forgot their own history and replaced it by legends which were taken over also by the Arabs. It is possible that a large part of Pahlavi literature was destroyed by Alexander, but even that which escaped destruction and was translated early into Arabic contained nothing but legendary material. Therefore, the name of the greatest personality in the history of Iran, the founder of the Iranian Empire, Cyrus the Great was unknown to the Iranian tradition. Scholars tried to compare Key-Kāwos, or Key-Khosraw of Ferdowsī's Shāhnāme

Weissbach, *Das Grab des Cyrus und die Inschriften von Murghāb,* ZDMG 48/1894, (pp. 653-65), p. 663.

68. F.H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden,* p. 126; cf. Idem u. W. Bang, *Die altpersischen Keilschriften,* p. 8, and R.G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, Texts, Lexicon,* p. 116.

with the Cyrus of Greek historians, but they found more differences than resemblances, whereas Greek renderings of the names of the ancient Iranian kings served as a reliable staring point for the deciphering of the cuneiforms, and in general, Greek historical reports concerning ancient Iran correspond better to modern archaeological discoveries than the Iranian legends.

This historical investigation with the aim of proving the historicity of the Koranic legend was, however, not necessary, since the Koran is not a book of ancient history but only a collection of legends. And although the Old Testament may contain more historical reminiscences of Cyrus the Great than the Iranian legends adopted later by the Arabs, the Arabian Jews in Muhammad's time were hardly acquainted with Greek historians and could not possess more historical knowledge than that which was contained in their holy books. If we compare this with the Koranic legend of *D̲ū l-qarnain*, we miss exactly its most important points: the liberation of the Jews from the captivity and the order to rebuild the temple and the city of Jerusalem. Only if the Koranic passage had mentioned these two deeds of primordial importance for the history of the only monotheistic religion of that time, a believing Muslim author could argue that Muḥammad received a true revelation about Cyrus the Great directly from Gabriel, and not a doubtful one from a Christian informant acquainted with the Syriac Christian legend about Alexander the Great. There are, of course some common traits in the stories of both conquerors to which the Koranic passage could be applied. But A.-K. Āzād's explanation of the rampart against Ya'ǧūǧ and Ma'ǧūǧ as an iron wall which Cyrus was supposed to have built in order to close a narrow pass in the mountains of Caucasus (p. 120 b-c) is highly arbitrary. He was right to complain that Greek historians mentioned with no word this story (p. 118a).

(5) In order to draw a conclusion from A.-K. Āzād's detailed discussion of the problem, we must admit that Cyrus the Great might have been very well entitled to the surname of *D̲ū l-qarnain* which is much older than Alexander the Great to whom it was given later. The two-horned ram of Daniel's vision and especially the relief of Cyrus prove it beyond doubt. But on the other hand, "horns" are a very ancient Oriental symbol of "might" used already in Akkadian as well as in the Old Testament[69]. It was limited neither to Cyrus nor to Alexander the Great. But although Cyrus might not have been the first one and Alexander was not the last one entitled to this surname[70], both of them were its most prominent bearers. They were the greatest conquerors of the ancient world, and their history as well as the legendary stories about them offer numerous parallelisms. But the exact history of both having been soon forgotten, there mostly remained only the legendary traits, and as is well known, a later legend easily overshades an earlier one. This can only be proved and not disproved by the Koranic legend of *D̲ū l-qarnain*, from which it is absolutely clear that Muḥammad never heard either the name of Cyrus or of Alexander. He was satisfied with a simplified Christian Syriac version of the legend. Otherwise, he would certainly had betrayed the proper name of its hero if it had been known to him, as he did it in the case of all the names known to him from Biblical and Arabian traditions. We may appreciate A.-K. Āzād's good intention to prove that the moral personality and exemplary religious tolerance of Cyrus the Great, which are certainly not completely legendary, would have better deserved to be mentioned in a divine revelation than the completely legendary deeds of Alexander the Great. But our Koranic passage does not give us the slightest reason to believe in his expectation. Neither Muḥammad nor his informant was acquainted with the personality of Cyrus the Great and the old Testament prophecies and semihistorical records pertaining to him. They were only slightly acquainted with the banal Syriac Christian legend of Alexander the Great[71]. Moreover, it has never been reported that Cyrus would have killed anybody because of a different religious belief. He remained an ideal of religious tolerance throughout two and half millenia. Would it not be a pity to change him into a second *D̲ū l-qarnain* of the Koran, of whom – in spite of his polytheism – the Muslims boastingly fabulated that he killed everybody who did not believe in one God?!

69. W. Gesenius – F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament,* s.v. *qeren.*

70. The *Loghatnāme* mentions eleven further *D̲ū l-qarnains*. In order to illustrate the variety of the use of this name, I point out that it was used among others, not only of the Graeco-Roman god of wine, Bacchus Bicornis, but also of Muḥammad's nephew and gender 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (according to a *ḥadīṯ* that Muḥammad said to him: *inna laka fī l-ǧannati baitan, wa-yurwā kanzan, wa-innaka la-d̲ū qarnaihā ai d̲ū ṭarafai al-ǧanna* etc. "Thou hast an house in the paradise, and thou art the owner of its two horns, i.e. both sides of the paradise ..."). Although predominantly applied to persons, it was also used as a geographical name.

71. It is worth to quote Nöldeke's plausible conclusion: "Der Verfasser der willkürlich ausgedachten, im Grunde albernen Geschichte konnte sich nicht träumen lassen, dass ihr Inhalt später für die Anhänger einer siegreichen feindlichen Religion als göttliche Offenbarung gelten werde. Was Millionen auf Millionen von Muslimen zuverlässig von dem Welteroberer zu wissen glauben, das geht eben auf die Legende zurück. Man begreift aber, dass spätere muslimische Gelehrte, die aus dem Roman oder gar aus wirklichen Geschichtswerken Genaueres über Alexander erfuhren, im Zweifel waren, ob der 'Zweigehörnte' wirklich derselbe sei wie Alexander ..." (l.c. 33 bottom).

VII. Poetic Persian versions: Ferdowsī and Neẓāmī

After the detailed communication of the contents of both greatest poetic Persian versions in Ferdowsī's *Shāhnāme* and Neẓāmī's *Eskadnarname* by Spiegel already in the middle of the last century[72] and the careful analysis and comparison of their correspondences and differences with Pseudo-Callisthenes by Nöldeke[73], there is no need of repeating what they said about this subject. I shall, therefore, restrict myself to some general remarks emphasizing the most characteristic traits of both.

Although Ferdowsī relied on an Iranized and Islamized version, which was close to that of his countryman Dīnawarī living about a century before him (ch. II B), he kept to the general frame of Pseudo-Callisthenes. His main deviations from it, e.g. Eskandar's descent from Dārāb and the daughter of Philip, his liberation of Mekka from Khozā'a in favour of Naḍr etc.[74], were already part of the Iranian and Islamic story to which also Ferdowsī's national and religious feelings adhered. Already his introduction to the Shāhnāme clearly shows his monotheistic religious and philosophical concept of history. The whole history is a manifestation of the wisdom of God turning the heavenly spheres. For him there was no difference between Zoroastrianism believing in "the pure Yazdān" and the Islamic or Christian monotheism. Therefore, he could not only Islamize but also Christianize Alexander. Calling him a "Roman emperor" he had in mind a picture of Byzantine emperors. His Alexander is a Christian. The sign of his army is the cross. Even Ferdowsī's use of the Aramaic Status emphaticus *(Masīḥā,* a typical Crhistian form X Syr. *m^{e}šīḥā,* still used much later by Ḥāfeẓ for "Christ"; *sukūbā,* a slightly Arabized form of Syr. *a/epis»ōpā* ἐπίσκοπος) seem to prove that he was well acquainted with Syriac Christian traditions. Alexander's Christianity did not disturb him at all, since in his romantic view there could be no great difference between this religion and the Islam, both representing to him a purified Zoroastrian faith[75].

72. L.c. (see n. 20), § 2: *Die Sage von Alexander bei Firdowsi und den älteren Muhammedanern,* pp. 13-33, and § 3: *Die Iskendersage nach Nisâmi,* pp. 33-50.

73. L.c., pp. 49-53.

74. See Nöldeke, l.c., pp. 50ff.

75. Ibid. Nevertheless, this great poet, one of the greatest in the history of mankind, was recognized as a heretic by the narrow-minded Muslims of his time. They refused to bury him in the public Muslim cemetry of his village (Ṭūs), and he had to be interred in his own garden. During the Pahlavi dynasty a splendid mausoleum was built there, but in the Islamic Republic Iran his name, his statues as well as streets and places, named after him still constitue an open problem.

Considering the free poetic presentation of the subject by Ferdowsī, it is not always easy to retrace his sources. At any rate, he seems to have been acquainted with Pseudo-Callisthenes through the intermediary of an Oriental version corresponding to a type of the Syriac translation based on Middle Persian as well as with traditions close to Dīnawarī. But there are some clues that he might have used also other sources unknown to us. It is noteworthy that he refers to the birth of Alexander and his famous horse (=Bucephalus) on the same day (ed. Vullers. Landauer, p. 1781), a detail mentioned also in the Ethiopic version, of which there must have existed an Arabic original[76].

Neẓāmī's poetical presentation composed about two centuries after Ferdowsī (in the year 1191) is already of a completely different nature and shows clearly influence of the Turkish domination[77]. There is no trace of national Iranian feeling, no sympathy with the ancient religion which played such a great role in Ferdowsī's work. The poet had no clear notion of Zoroastrianism, he held it for a polytheism to which his completely Islamized Alexander made an end. The poet praises him for having destroyed Persian temples, massively killed the priests, burnt their holy books, extinguished their holy fires. Although he partly footed on Ferdowsī, he used also several other sources and related side by side several different stories of the same event: Alexander was either a foundling, or a descendant of Dara, or a son of Philip. The utmost upoetical discussion of the meaning of "the two-horned", as known from Arabic commentators and historians (see ch. VI A), uninteresting to Ferdowsī, was of great importance for Neẓāmī. Unfortunately, he became a model for further Persian and Turkish poets of the third class writing Iskender Nâmehs.

VIII. The Ethiopic Version

In spite of its late date (14th-16th cent.) the Ethiopic translation Pseudo-Callisthenes is of great importance in the detective search for the lost Arabic version. It was unanimously recognized by the greatest Semitists of the last centuries, Budge, Nöldeke and Guidi (WZKM XI, pp. 279 ff.) as a translation from Arabic. K.F. Weymann reexamined in his dissertation[78] some of its typical connections with other Oriental ver-

76. Nöldeke, l.c., p. 50.

77. To this passage cf. ibid., pp. 52f.

78. See Budge's Introduction to his edition, p. XXV; cf. Weymann, l.c., p. 2-4.

sions, but the main problem of the Arabic text from it was translated remains unsolved.

Why and from where did an Ethiopian scholar translate this work? Both questions can be answered only tentatively. Apart from Alexander's visit to Candace, there are no notable connections with Ethiopia which could be compared to those with Egypt or Persia. This story might have been one of the impulses for the translation. But the main reason might have been that the story of Alexander was already spread over in all popular literatures of the Near East. All Oriental peoples tried to connect him not only with their country but also with their religion. Why should an Ethiopian Christian not have tried to Christianize Alexander as well as the Muslims Islamized him? Might this idea have been suggested to him by an Arabic Christian translation which served him as a *Vorlage?* Was this made by an Egyptian Christian wanting to replace the ancient Coptic translation, of which only fragments remained? His Alexander is a Christian king, prophet and teacher[78]. But the idea of christianizing Alexander goes back not only to the Syriac Christian legend from the "royal archives in Alexanderia" (ch. IV A) but also to the liberal Persian Muslim poet Ferdowsī who might have known, at least, one of the sources which, 5-6 centuries later, came into the hands of the Ethiopian translator (ch. VII). Would it be possible that Ferdowsi invented both, the christianizing of Alexander and the birth of his horse on the same day, or that the Ethiopian did not rely on a literary source which was close to that of Ferdowsi? The channel connecting both might have been only an ancient Arabic Christian anterior to Ferdowsī. It seems to me that Nöldeke's opinion that there hardly was an ancient Christian Arabic translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes[79] ought to be revised. Although the Ethiopic translation of an Arabic version of this popular romace is of a late date and deviates in many points from the original version, many of its details cannot be explained without supposing an ancient Christian Arabic version which must have preceded Dīnawarī and Ferdowsī. This must, in turn, have been based on the Syriac translation. An important part of it remained in Mubaššir's extract[5], and its main section is contained also in the Ethiopic translation.

Considering the fact that between the Syriac and the Ethiopic version there were, at least, seven centuries, their resemblences are of much

79. L.c., p. 53: "Soviel ich weiss, ist keine arabische Uebersetzung des ganzen Pseudo-Callisthenes erhalten. In älterer Zeit hat es, wie ich schon gesagt habe, auch kaum eine gegeben. Wohl aber dürfte später dieser oder jene Christ eine gemacht haben. Jedenfalls repräsentiert uns ein solches Werk die ... ä t h i o p i s c h e A f t e r ü b e r s e t z u n g ..."

greater importance than their differences. The origin of the latter version was much more complex than could be presented here. Especially Greek proper names are very instructive in this respect[80]. Some of them are closer to Greek than in the Syriac translation. It seems that a later Arabic translator, whom the Ethiopian followed, retranslated or, at least, checked certain parts directly on hand of the Greek original. But on the other hand, the correspondences between the main body of the Syriac and Ethiopic texts are undeniable[81].

The differences between these two most complete Oriental versions of Pseudo-Callisthenes prove only the composite character of the Ethiopic version conditioned by its late date, but they do not deprive the presence of the specific motifs of the most ancient preserved (Syriac) version in the youngest one (Ethiopic) of their comparative literary-historical interest.

The Ethiopic translator was also acquainted with the Muslim tradition of the "two-horned" *(zakel'ē aqrenātīhū)* and explained it in the typically Muslim way: "because he ruled in the two horns of the Sun the east and the west".

IX. Conclusions

This last typical Oriental version of Pseudo-Callisthenes clearly proves that Alexander was a living story of two millenia. Its literary tradition proved greater elasticity than any other historical subject. Not only the greatest nations (the Egyptian and the Persians) claimed that he was their legitimate ruler from their own kingly, or even godly offspring, but also the greatest religions made him their believer, defender, teacher and prophet, and even the most obstinate inimical traditions (the Zoroastrian) had to yield to their exact opposite. A work of clearly polytheistic origin became the most popular book in all monotheistic religions. This total alteration of original values would hardly have been possible without necessary adaptations and changes of different details of the story according to the national and religious meeds.

Already the lost Pahlavi translation which introduced Pseudo-Callisthenes in the Orient might have had slightly zoroastrianized him, although in the first presentation of the story which did not enjoy a long life in its primitive version it was not absolutely necessary. It was only a

80. Cf. Nöldeke, l.c., pp. 53f.; Weymann, l.c., p. 16ff.

81. See Weymann, pp. 42ff.

starting point for the future religious Oriental stories of Alexander. According to the Syriac translation which is the only mirror in which we can observe the contours of the Pahlavi version a deeper zoroastrianisation of the book was hardly attempted. To both the Pahlavi and the Syriac translators it was still a work of scholarly interest, not a means of religious propaganda. The Nestorian Christians retained it in its original form until our days. They dared to add their later Christian legend only in an appendix to the manuscripts. We have to appreciate their distinction between the original text of Pseudo-Callisthenes and their own addition. In this way they preserved the only Oriental version of the work without notable later admixtures. Even places where their version has a longer text than Greek, e.g. Alexander's letter to Aristoteles[29], are simple expansions of the story without any religious aims. It is, however, noteworthy that the Ethiopic version has a similar longer form of the letter (83:5 - 88:13) as well as its continuation after the arrival in Prasiake (92:26 - 106:6) known only from Syriac (176:7 - 183:4, 189:paen.-208)[82]. Alterations for religious purposes are minimal. But those found in the Syriac text are known also from Ferdowsī and from the Ethiopic version, cf. Darius' last words adapted to the words of Christ from the cross with Ferowsī (II B), Mubaššir (594:10) and Ethiopic (52:16, 77:20); similarly Alexander's last words to the brahmans: "and we depart naked and empty" (Syr. 168:9f. = Mubaššir 598:12) are quoted in their fuller form reminding of Job 1:21 by Ferdowsī (as words of a brahman to Alexander) and in Ethiopic (78:11), although they are missing in Greek, Armenian and Valerius' Latin versions[84].

The names of the Oriental translators are unknown. But the Pahlavi translator certainly was not a *mobed,* and we need not assume that the Syriac translator was a priest[85]. Biblical quotations are minimal and known to each educated layman. Similarly the supposed Arabic translation might have been a work of a Christian layman and must have been known already before Dīnawarī about 850 at the latest. Weyman following Zacher[86] thought that it must have been translated already before Ḥunain Ibn Isḥāq (809-873). But whereas the polytheistic beginning of

82. Ibid., p. 42.
83. Ibid., p. 75.
84. Ibid., pp. 40, 62; 74.
85. Budge, Introduction to the Syr. version, pp. LVIIIf., contested by Nöldeke, l.c., p. 17. According to Fränkel (ZDMG XLV, p. 315), the Pahlavi translator might even have been a Christian of Syriac language accustomed to write Pahlavi.
86. Zacher, Pseudocallisthenes, p. 191; Weymann, l.c., p. 79f.

the story was inoffensive to the Christians, it was prohibitive to the Muslims, and they had to discard it from the very beginning. That is why the Christian Arabic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes enjoyed no popularity among the Muslims and had to cede its place to different versions adapted to Iranian and Islamic concepts. Nevertheless, the Syro-Aramaean Christians were not quite satisfied with the original version they preserved, and therefore they completed it by a new legend of Christian origin (ch. IV A) which having been taken over into the Koran gave raise to numerous Muslim legends and speculations about the person of the "Two-horned" (ch. VI A).

This *epitheton constans* of Alexander is of very complex origin and its most usual explanation, according to the Koran: he reached both "horns" of the Sun, has certainly nothing original. Deified by the Egyptians, as a son of the god Ammon, Alexander was represented by a two-horned ram (ch. II A). On ancient coins, he was represented as Jupiter Ammon Alexander with a horn in profile so that the imagination of two horns was incorporated in this picture[87]. But this representation of mighty kings is much more ancient than Alexander, as is proved by the relief of Cyrus (ch. VI B). All these ancient pictures melted together in the person of the greatest conqueror of the world, Alexander. There might also have been some influences of the imaginations about Moses, with whom, in fact, the *Ḏū l-qarnain* of the Koran was confused (see the story of the salted fish, ch. VI A). In this connection, it is noteworthy that Aquila and Vulgata used the expression *cornuta* for the rays of light shining from the face of Moses descending with the two tables of testimony from the Mount Sinai[88]. In face of concrete pictures representing Alexander, as well as some kings before him, as "two-horned", we may, of course, not need this additional religious argument, but considering that he was also regarded as a prophet, this additional image need not be discarded. Already those, concrete pictures represented symbolically the idea of "might".

It is, therefore, not surprising that this symbol, of which the origin lies in remote antiquity, caused endless headaches to the Muslim commentators and historians, and their simplified secondary solution of the problem was almost generally accepted and found way also to the christianized Ethiopic version of Pseudo-Callisthenes.

In the Syriac Christian legend (ch. IV A) where we find the first literary

87. Cf. Nöldeke – Schwally, Geschichte des Qorāns, I, p. 140 n. 5.
88. Ex, 34: 29f., 35.

mention of the horns in a clear connection with Alexander, they were simply considered as a God-given means for the destruction of the kingdoms of the world. Since Christ's "kingdom is not of this world" (John 18:36), the Christians were satisfied with this explanation of the picture of *Alexander cornutus* known to them from ancient reliefs and coins and combined him with their apocalyptic ideas. But the symmetry of "two horns" soon led to the idea of joining, linking, uniting both sides, which is clearly expressed by the denominative Arabic verb *qarana.* This was already meant by the Hebrew dual *q*^{e}*rānāyim* in Daniel's vision (ch. VI B), where the "two horns" are explained as Persia and Media, corresponding to the South and North. Similarly in Arabic the constant use of the dual of this word necessarily led to the thought of two counterparts which in Alexander's case were the West and the East, as it is clearly said in the Koranic passage. Already this circumstance prohibits the confusion of the "Two-horned" in the Koran with Cyrus the Great in spite of his parallelism with Alexander which might well have entitled him to this surname. The Syriac plural *qarnāṯā,* by which the Pšīṭtā renders the original dual of the book of Daniel, 8:3ff., does not necessarily recall the idea of the two opposite sides. In the Apocalypsis of John, even a lamb with seven horns (5:6) and beasts with ten horns (12:3; 13:1; 17:3,7) are mentioned. For all of them the ambigious plural from *qarnāṯā* has been used in the Syriac translation. The explanation of the "two horns" as "East and West" is a specifically Muslim idea imposed by the constant use of the dual and its clear distinction from the plural in Arabic. A Christian acquainted with the concrete expression of the Syriac legend about the horns on Alexander's head could hardly have had the idea of allegorizing them. This was reserved for Muḥammad and the Muslim commentators. Since the symbolical use of *qarn* for "might" was abandoned in Arabic, and the word is used with other metaphorical and allegorical meanings, among them also of the first and the last visible part of the rising and setting sun, the dual *qarnain* could easily be conceived as *maġrib* and *maṭli' aš-šams* of the Koranic legend (18:84/86, 89/90), especially as the story of Alexander's conquest of both West and East offered itself for such a conception.

RUDOLF MACUCH

Greek Loan-words in Gɨcɨz (Classical Ethiopic): The Role of Arabic. I.

1. Greek Loan-words in the Near East

One of the characteristic elements of the Near East as a cultural region has been established through the pervasive influence of Greek language and culture. From the time of Alexander the Great up to the first centuries of the Arabic dominion, the Greek civilization had a strong and lasting impact on the Semitic and Non-Semitic languages and cultures of the Near East.

The influence of the Greek language becomes conspicuous in the innumerable verbal loans contained in all languages of that area. Although an enrolment and appraisal of Greek loans in Near Eastern languages could yield some interesting results about the development of these languages, not to speak of the historical implications, not all languages have been thoroughly or, at least, to some extent investigated with regard to their Greek components. Among the most comprehensive studies in this field is the study of S. Krauss on the Greek and Latin loan-words in the Talmud, the Midrash, and the Targum (in two vol. 1898-1899), the Armenian grammar by H. Hübschmann (1897), which contains a chapter on Greek loan-words in this language (to which compare Thumb 1900), the studies of A. Böhlig on Greek loans in Coptic (^{3}1958, ^{2}1958), and last but not least, the study of A. Schall on the Greek elements found in Syriac (1960, cf. Brock 1967, 1975).

There are, however, no contributions that deal comprehensively with the Greek loan-words in Arabic and Old Ethiopic. As to the Greek loan-words in Arabic, we have at least some general studies of the foreign vocabulary, especially in the Quran (e.g., Jeffery 1938) but also in the Biography of the Prophet (Sîrat an-Nabî) by Ibn Hišâm (Hebbo 1970, see Schall 1982:148), and in the Christian Arabic literature (Graf 1954). Furthermore, the studies of Arabic translations of Classical authors do contain a lot of material (see for example Schmitt 1970).

Nevertheless, we miss a systematic treatment of the Greek components in the Arabic vocabulary although the article by R. Macuch (1982) could be instrumental in further research within this field.

2. Greek Loan-words in Gɨcɨz: Current Research Findings

As to the Greek loan-words in Gɨcɨz, we are even in a more unfavourable situation in that we are lacking any general treatment of loan-words in Ethiopic which could serve as a basis for further considerations. The only contribution that fulfils this purpose to a certain degree is an article on loan-words in and from Old Ethiopic by Th. Nöldeke (1910), chich treats, however, only very few Greek loan-words.

So, if we do not wish to collect the Ethiopic words of Greek origin from the texts, which, indeed, should be done in the near future, we have to rely on dictionaries and glossaries already published. The relevant dictionary is that of A. Dillmann (1865); but some other dictionaries, albeit based on this standard edition, have to be consulted as well since they may contain some words not listed in Dillmann:

Aläqa Tayyä: Maṣḥafä säwasɨw (1958=1966, orig. 1889=1897)
S. Grébaut: Supplément (1952)
G. da Maggiora: Vocabolario (1953)
Kɨflä G. – Kidanä W. K.: Maṣḥafä säwasɨw wä-gɨss wä-mäzgäbä qalat ḥaddis (1948=1956)

Among others, the following glossaries and word lists yield further material (see W. Leslau 1965:135ff., and the additions to this bibliography given by W. W. Müller 1968):

F. Hommel: Die äthiopische Übersetzung des Physiologus (1877: 158-162)
C. Conti Rossini: Historia regis Sarṣa Dengel (1907:185-191)
C. Bezold: Kebra Nagast (1909:xxi-xxxiv, cf. the list of names pp. 150-160)
A. Grohmann: Äthiopische Marienhymnen (1919:414-464)
P. Leander: Argānōna Ųeddāsē (1922:174-177)
S. Strelcyn: Prières magiques éthiopiennes (1955)
V. Arras: Collectio monastica (1963:204-217)
P. Marrassini: Gadla Yohannes Mesraqawi (1981:491-495)

3. Greek Loan-words in Epigraphic South Arabian

Since Old Ethiopic has developed out of the language of South Arabian tribes that settled in the East African highlands, we could imagine

that some Greek words may have crossed the Red Sea along with these peoples. Unfortunately, there are very few Old South Arabian words derived from Greek; see W. W. Müller (1980) where some words of possible Greek origin are discussed.

It appears that the only word that is undoubtedly derived from Greek, is *qls*₁ 'church, ἐκκλησία' (Sabaic dictionary 1982:s.v.; a deminutive form of this word appears in the name of the great cathedral of Ṣancā' built by Abraha which is referred to in Arabic sources as al-Qulajs, see Ullendorff [3]1973:54 and Enzyklopädie des Islām 4 (1934:155) occurs in Old Ethiopic as well, but in different form: 'aqles(ɨ)ya (Kidanä W. K. 1948-1956:s.v.), which is nearer to the Greek than to the South Arabian form. Therefore, it has to be assumed that the Gɨcɨz word has been taken over from Greek via Syriac 'a/eqlē/īsiyā (Brockelmann 1928:s.v.). It is worth mentioning that in no language of the Near East the Greek word for 'church' was part of the current vocabulary, as opposed to so many other terms connected with christianity.

4. Greek Loan-words in Ethiopian Sabaean

In addition to the Sabaean inscriptions from South Arabia, there are some Sabaean inscriptions found in Ethiopia as well. These inscriptions are relevant to the history of the early languages of this region since they show some interferences form local languages, at least from Classical Ethiopic. As to tracing back the Greek loan-words in Gɨcɨz to the more or less Ethiopized Sabaean inscriptions from Ethiopia, the amount of texts is not so large as to allow the identification of any one Greek word, see the word-list of Drewes (1980).

5. Greek inscriptions in Ethiopia

In the last centuries B.C., Ethiopia and other parts of Northern and North-Eastern Africa belonged to the Hellenistic world, as we can see from the Greek inscriptions found in that region. I should like to mention only the two inscriptions that were copied by Cosmas Indicopleustes, the famous traveller in the beginning of the sixth century in Adulis (south of Massawa), one of the Ptolemaic harbours in the Red Sea, and were published in his 'Christian Topography' (Χριστιανικὴ Τοπογραφία). The first of these two inscriptions, which are currently known as Monumentum Adulitanum (Patrologia Graeca 88 (1860):103-106), is written by Ptolemaeus Euergetes III (246-221 B.C.); the second one, regarded by

Cosmas as a probable continuation (ὡς ἐξ ἀκολουθίας) of the first one, does not reveal its author the beginning of the text being already missing at that time. In this context, it is irrelevant whether the author is really the King of Axum, as in generally assumed (Hammerschmidt 1967:38, see Sergew H. S. 1972:62ff.), or rather a South Arabian king who conquered some parts of Ethiopia (Beeston 1980).

In these two inscriptions and in a Greek one found in Axum, which refers to king ᶜEzana as Ἀειζανᾶς βασιλεὺς Ἀξωμιτῶν καὶ Ὁμηριτῶν καὶ τοῦ Ῥαειδᾶν καὶ Αἰθιόπων καὶ Σαβαειτῶν καὶ... (Littmann 1913:4, DAE IV, 4), the name of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians occurs for the first time in the country that was to bear this name officialy later on. The natives mistook this name for a derivation from 'Itjopis, i.e., the legendary ancestor of the Ethiopian people, see The Dictionary of Ethiopian Biography I (1975:91). Αἰθιοπία, the 'land of the burned faces' – an etymological connection with Kush (Χοῦσος) that is maintained from time to time is quite impossible (cf. Dihle 1965:67) – is as a more concrete geographic term originally referred to as the most southern country to Egypt, i.e., Meroe and the adjacent areas south-east to it. The decline of Meroe can be regarded as the main cause of a shift of this designation to the more powerful kingdom of Axum (Altheim-Stiehl 1971:430).

At that time, the name of Ethiopia was, however, not accepted by the Axumites as the native designation of the country since the Sabaic and Old Ethiopic versions of the ᶜEzana inscription (Littmann 1913:8ff.,=DAE IV, 6-7) exhibit Ḥabaśat as the Semitic equivalent of Αἰθιοπία. Nevertheless, the Greek term survived and was later on strengthened by the fact that in the Septuagint Kush was nearly systematically rendered with Αἰθιοπία, as in the famous passage (Ps. 68, 32):

Kūš tårīṣ jådåw lēlohīm
Αἰθιοπία προφθάσει χεῖρα αὐτῆς τῷ θεῷ
'Itjoṗja tabäṣṣɨḥ 'ɨdåwiha ḫabä 'ɨgzi'abɨḥer

According to the reading of E. Littmann (1913:5of.), we have another two words of Greek origin in two Old Ethiopic inscriptions (DAE IV, 17-18), which are carved on baptismal fonts:

bln=biłäne 'βαλανεῖον'
tgl=ṭegän 'τήγανον'

Both words occur in the classical Old Ethiopic literature (see Dillmann 1865:ss.vv.). A. J. Drewes (1962:69), however, in his commentary to these inscriptions prefers to read zgl=zagʷål 'conch' in both cases. Whatever the correct reading might be, it has to be assumed that as soon as in the Hellenistic period, some Greek words became familiar in

Ethiopia. To these belongs the name of the Red Sea, Ἐρυθρὰ θάλαττα (Ion. Ἐρυθρὴ θάλασσα), which appears in the Septuagint as the Greek rendering of Hebrew jam-sūp 'Sea of Rushes'. In the Ethiopic version of the Old Testament (and of Hebr. 11, 29) the Greek name is only partly translated as baḥrä 'Erɨtra 'mare erythraeum/rubrum'.

Another element of strong Greek influence in Pre-Christian Ethiopia can be seen in the adoption of Greek numerals, which we find already in the unvocalized inscription of ᶜAnza (Sergew 1972:89, see the photo in Drewes 1962:pl. XXII). The Ethiopians gave up the Old South Arabian system of numerals (see Höfner 1943:13), which is based on the same principles as the Latin one (i.e., figures for 5 and 50; repetition of figures; acronymic origin of some figures; division of figures to designate halves; for a discussion see Jensen 1969:512), and used the Greek letters as numerals instead in nearly the same way as the Greeks (a remarkable difference, however, has been attributed to Coptic influence, see Hallo 1926:62).

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A propos de l'influence grecque sur les peintures parietales de Khroumirie-Mogods

L'Afrique du Nord possède dans sa partie nord-ouest et, particulièrement en Tunisie, un grand nombre de grottes aménagées, creusées dans des rochers en grès ou en calcaire qui sont connues sous le nom arabe de *hanout,* introduit dans l'historiographie par Berbrugger en 1864.

Celles dont nous allons vous entretenir sont situées dans deux régions contiguës de la Tunisie du nord-ouest: la Khroumirie forestière qui s'étend le long de la frontière algérienne et ce pays de moyennes collines que sont les Mogods.

Toutes ces grottes sont taillées dans le grès. Quelques-unes sont creusées dans des rochers isolés. D'autres sont excavées dans une seule paroi sur une même ligne ou superposées sur plusieurs niveaux et disposées en quinconce. Comme vous le constatez, il n'y a pas de constante dans leur orientation. Les haouanet se présentent généralement sous la forme d'une chambre à plan carré ou rectangulaire, au plafond horizontial. Certains ont un plafond à deux pans, d'autres un plafond voûté. Quelques-uns sont ovoïdes. Si bien des chambres sont assez exiguës, un homme peut cependant se tenir debout dans l'une ou l'autre des parois, de corniches à moulures simples ou complexes sur lesquelles reposent les plafonds, parfois d'une banquette attenant à l'un ou l'autre des côtés ou encore de fosses creusées dans le sol. Ces éléments peuvent s'additionner ou être indépendants les uns des autres. Il existe des haouanet à chambres multiples, le plan se développe alors suivant 2 directions, en profondeur et latéralement. C'est par une baie quadrangulaire qu'on y accède. Elle est munie sur son pourtour d'une feuillure qui permettait – croit-on – de la fermer en y encastrant une dalle ou éventuellement une planche. On n'a, en effet, jamais retrouvé en

Tunisie de fragments de dalles brisées aux alentours des haouanet. Par contre, on connaît bien le procédé de fermeture de monuments semblables situés dans la région de Syracuse en Sicile: une dalle était dissimulée derrière un mur de pierres sèches lui-même recouvert de terre. La procédé est tout à fait concevable lorsqu'il s'agit de haouanet creusés au bas d'une falaise ou d'un rocher de petites dimensions. Par contre, lorsque la grotte est située à une certaine hauteur, il semble difficile d'édifier le mur de pierres sèches et la rampe de terre.

Les haouanet sont, fort vraisemblablement, des chambres sépulcrales. L'argument le plus probant que nous possédions dans ce sens, est la découverte en Algérie d'un cadavre dans une grotte fermée par une herse de pierre, coulissant dans deux rainures, autre procédé de fermeture, de quelques ossements dans d'autres chambres et d'un mobilier à caractère funéraire, fait de poteries et de lances de fer. L'exiguïté de certaines d'entre elles, le caractère exclusivement extérieur de leur fermeture, la présence de quelques fosses anthropoïdes militent d'autre part en faveur de cette hypothèse. C'est en Sicile qu'on a retrouvé dans des monuments similaires de Cassibile et de Pantalica des preuves irréfutables de leur destination funéraire: accompagnant des restes humains, un important mobilier composé d'objets en bronze et en ivoire et de poteries; mobilier funéraire de type ou de facture mycénienne ou égéo-anatolienne, daté de la deuxième moitié du deuxième millénaire avant J. C. Nous y reviendrons plus loin. Beaucoup de tombes protégées par leur écran de terre, étaient restées inviolées. Il s'agissait dans la plupart des cas de caveaux de famille: on y a trouvé de nombreux squelettes.

La présence dans les tombes des éléments que nous venons de citer nous conduit bien évidemment à poser le problème de l'origine des haouanet et de leurs relations avec les monuments similaires du bassin méditerranéen. En l'absence de mobilier funéraire, les moyens de datation sont fort relatifs. On n'a, en effet, jamais retrouvé de hanout inviolé en Tunisie. Quant aux éléments découverts, au siècle dernier, en Algérie et qui ont maintenant disparu, ils n'avaient été ni analysés, ni étudiés, ni classés. La majorité des haouanet semble ainsi se dérober à toute tentative de datation. De nombreuses hypothèses furent donc proposées. L'attribution de ces monuments à la civilisation phénicopunique a été à un moment envisagée, mais on l'a vite abandonnée. Les objections suscitées par cette thèse, à commencer par l'absence aux alentours d'Utique et de Carthage de haouanet, ayant plus de poids que les arguments qui lui étaient favorables, à savoir certaines similitudes architecturales. Il est vrai qu'il existe de nombreuses analogies avec les tombes phéniciennes et surtout puniques, sans doute parce qu'elles sont originaires des mêmes régions levantines: de la Cappadoce à l'Egypte, de nombreuses chambres funéraires furent creusées dans les falaises. Mais la chambre quadrangulaire n'est pas réservée aux seules rives orientales de la Méditerranée. En face de l'Afrique du Nord et surtout de la Tunisie, la Sicile comme nous l'avions dit plus haut, possède en très grand nombre les mêmes sépultures. Les nécropoles de Cassibile et de Pantalica pourraient être implantés en Tunisie. On retrouve à Pantalica en particulier, le même aspect et la même disposition de chambres qu'à Ben Yasla dans les Mogods. Ce qui tendrait à démontrer, pour certains, que les haouanet de Tunisie situés dans ces zones plus ou moins littorales que sont le Cap Bon, la Khroumirie et les Mogods, seraient un mode de sépulture hérité de la Sicile, les tombes siciliennes étant présentées elles-mêmes comme la reproduction des tombes de l'âge du bronze des territoires anatoliens.[1]

Il existe certes d'incontestables affinités entre l'ensemble des chambres sépulcrales artificielles creusées autour du bassin méditerranéen. Mais différents peuples peuvent à un moment donné de leur histoire éprouver les mêmes besoins sans qu'il y ait nécessairement interdépendance. La ressemblance n'est pas toujours suffisante pour établir ou reconnaître des liens de parenté.

Au début de ce siècle, une autre hypothèse qui connut un certain succès auprès des historiens d'Afrique du Nord avait été émise: celle de l'origine égéenne des haouanet.[2] A cause, en particulier, de l'existence

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1. En ce qui concerne la bibliographie générale, on pourra consulter les notes accompagnant notre article "El Guetma: rencontre de deux civilisations", *Reppal II*, 1986, p. 337-351, notes p. 348-351. Il nous semble en effet indispensable, lorsque nous présentons une communication ayant pour thème les haouanet, de procéder à une description succincte des monuments, de rappeler leur nature et de formuler rapidement le problème que pose leur origine et leur datation. C'est seulement après cette mise au point que nous pouvons émettre des hypothèses nouvelles, proposer d'autres directions de réflexion à partir des éléments connus ou inédits dont nous disposons. Nous sommes donc exposée à nous répéter dans l'introduction de notre sujet.

2. Les auteurs qui ont considéré l'hypothèse de l'origine égéenne des haouanet avec un certain intérêt, sont les suivants: Dr. Bertholon, *Rev. Tun.*, 1903, p. 398-401; Id. *Rev. Tun.*, 1904, p. 350-354; Id. *R. T.* 1905, p. 353-354; Dr. Deyrolle, Haouanet de djebel behelil, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Sousse*, 1903, p. 68; Id. Haouanet à lits et à faces humaines, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Sousse*, 1904, p. 158; Id. Les Haouanet de Tunisie, *Bull. et Mém. Soc., d'Anthrop. de Paris*, t. X, 1909, p. 164: il est vrai que cet auteur attribuait une parenté avec les haouanet à toute chambre sépulcrale de quelque époque et de quelque origine géographique qu'elle soit. Dr.

de fresques dont l'inspiration et la facture procèderaient de l'art crétois. Il s'agit surtout de la fresque représentant une scène navale, découverte en 1900, au Kef el Blida, en Khroumirie, par le lieutenant Hovard,[3] dont voici la description: un navire à la poupe relevée est pourvu de deux avirons servant de gouvernail. Un mât central supporte une voile trapézoïdale dont le bord paraît être fixé à une vergue arquée. Deux haubans vont du sommet du mât à la poupe et à la proue, tandis qu'un second système de cordage relie la vergue à la partie inférieure du mât. L'embarcation est montée par sept guerriers coiffés d'un casque, armés d'une lance à tête triangulaire et d'un bouclier rond. Dominant la poupe, un personnage nu et barbu tient de la main gauche un bouclier rond et brandit de la droite une bipenne en direction, semble-t-il, d'un autre personnage pourvu d'une coiffure crêtée, qui paraît nager.[4]

Pour les défenseurs de la thèse dont nous venons de parler, les éléments suivants rattacheraient cette peinture qu'ils datent du minoën récent, à l'art égéen: des coques de navires tout-à-fait comparables à celle figurant sur la peinture ont été usitées en Crète au Minoën ancien II de Mochlos et au Minoën moyen II et III de Phaestos.[5] Quant au personnage barbu, il serait le dieu crétois à la hache double dans une de ses attitudes familières: "la labrys dont il est armé suffirait à elle seule à justifier le rapprochement." Les lances triangulaires et les petits boucliers ronds enfin florissaient dans tout le bassin égéen aux époques préhelléniques.[6] Les arguments de M. Solignac ne sont pas sans intérêt mais on peut cependant rétorquer que si les lances particulièrement longues de ces guerriers ne sont guère connues en Afrique du Nord, le bouclier rond fut aussi utilisé par les Etrusques et surtout par les Phéniciens et les

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Bertholon et E. Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale,* Paris, 1913, p. 594-595; M. Solignac, Une peinture de la Tunisie septentrionale, *C.R.A.I.* 1928, p. 354-355; Id., *Les pierres écrites de la Berbérie orientale,* Tunis, 1928, p. 128-133, 135, 136 et 139; F. Bonniard, Sur quelques peintures rupestres des chambres sépulcrales creusées dans le roc en Tunisie septentrionale, *B.A.C.,* 1928-1929, p. 301; Id., Les chambres sépulcrales creusées dans le roc et leur répartition en Tunisie septentrionale, *Assoc. Franç. Avanc. Sciences,* 1928, p. 473-474.

3. M. Solignac, Une peinture de la Tunisie septentrionale, *C.R.A.I.,* 1928, p. 353-354; La découverte du lieutenant Hovart avait été signalée par R. Cagnat dans le *B.A.C.,* 1901, p. CLIX.

4. M. Solignac, *op. cit.,* p. 354.

5. Id., *op. cit.,* p. 354.

6. Camps G., *Monuments et rites funéraires protohistoriques,* Paris, 1961, p. 104; M.H. Fantar, *Eschatologie phénicienne-punique,* Tunis, 1970, p. 29; Id., *Le dieu de la mer chez les Phéniciens et les Puniques,* Rome, 1977, p. 23.

Carthaginois qui ne l'abandonnèrent que quelque temps avant la destruction de leur ville. De forme pointue, le casque ressemble aux casques orientaux que connurent les Assyriens et avant eux les Mycéniens. Mais son usage en Afrique du Nord où il fut introduit par les Phéniciens est attesté sur les stèles d'El Hofra, en Algérie. De plus un fragment de ce type de casque a été retrouvé dans le mausolée libyco-punique du Kroub. Quant à la bipenne, preuve formelle pour les tenants de la solution égéenne des relations entre ces peuples et l'Afrique du Nord avant l'arrivée des Phéniciens, elle est connue en Sicile et en Sardaigne et on sait que les Libyens servant dans l'armée carthaginoise en étaient armés.[7] Enfin, la représentation de face des guerriers militerait plutôt en faveur d'un âge relativement récent de la peinture.[8] Les arguments fournis à l'appui de la thèse de l'appartenance égéenne de cette scène ne sont pas vraiment déterminants. Ils n'ont guère résisté à l'analyse à laquelle se livrérent les historiens de ces vingt dernières années[9], ni à la comparaison avec d'autres peintures figurant dans des haouanet. On s'accorde désormais à penser que la fresque de Kef el Blida est beaucoup plus vraisemblablement punique et même libyco-punique.[10] Il est en effet extrèmement fréquent de découvrir dans les haouanet de Khroumirie et des Mogods mais aussi du Cap Bon de nombreuses peintures de facture semblable mais aux motifs fort divers: géométriques, animaliers, floraux, autels bateaux, personnages, scènes élaborées. Alors que celles-ci sont infiniment plus rares dans les tombes puniques et seraient plutôt le résultat d'une influence libyque. Nous pensons à la peinture très connue de la tombe VIII du Jbel M'Lezza dans le Cap Bon[11], mais aussi à celles de la nécropole de Sidi Salem à Menzel Témine.[12] Ce sont d'ailleurs les peintures conservées dans les haouanet qui four-

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7. G. Camps, *op. cit.,* p. 104; A.M. Bisi, Influenze puniche sulla religione libica, *Studie e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni,* 1966, vol. 37, fasc. 1, p. 91; M.H. Fantar, *Eschatologie phénicienne-punique,* Tunis, 1970, p. 24.

8. G. Camps, *op. cit.,* p. 104; A.M. Bisi, *op. cit.,* p. 90.

9. G. Camps, *op. cit.,* p. 103-105; A.M. Bisi, *op. cit.,* p. 85-112; M.H. Fantar, *Eschatologie,* p. 26-30; Id. *Le dieu de la mer,* p. 21-23; J. Ferron, Le mythe solaire de la résurrection des âmes d'après la peinture funéraire de Kef el Blida, *Archeologia,* janvier-février 1968, p. 52-55.

10. G. Camps, *op. cit.,* p. 105; A.M. Bisi, *op. cit.,* p. 106-107; J. Ferron, *op. cit.,* p. 55.

11. P. Cintas et E.G. Gobert, Les Tombes du Jbel Mlezza, *Rev. Tun.,* 1939, p. 189-197, fig. 92 et 93, pl. II et III; M.H. Fantar, *Eschatologie,* p. 32-38, pl. XXIV, XXV et XXVI.

12. M.H. Fantar, Découvertes dans une nécropole punique, *Histoire et Archéologie,* no. 69, déc. 1982-janv. 1983, p. 40-42.

nissent avec quelques éléments architecturaux les seuls indices de datation dont nous disposions, comme nous le verrons plus loin.

Nous ne nous attarderons pas à faire l'exégèse de cette scène navale, ce n'est pas notre propos. Disons seulement que la fourchette de datation proposée à ce jour, varie du VIIème siècle avant J.C. au 11e siècle après J.C.[13] Sur la paroi de droite du même hanout de Kef el Blida, figure une autre peinture disposée sur trois registres qui revêt, nous semble-t-il, une importance considérable pour établir ou confirmer l'appartenance de la scène que nous venons de décrire. Des lectures fort diverses en ont été faites. M. Solignac, partisan de la solution égéenne, aperçoit une bande de losanges rouges tout près du plafond et une stylisation rappelant certaines figurations crétoises du poulpe d'âge minoën récent dont les tentacules sont reduites à quatre.[14] Le père Ferron, quant à lui, y voit une guirlande composée de festons unis par une grenade, une bande ornée de méandres crénelés et enfin un motif de losanges rouges formant entre eux, en réserve, des triangles isocèles opposés par le sommet.[15] Z.M. Bisi, en ce qui la concerne, parle de figures masculines éminemment schématiques constituées de deux petits cercles superposés de différentes dimensions: la tête et le corps, et de deux brindilles en V renversé qui indiqueraient les jambes.[16] Or, comme nous avons pu ce constanter[17], nous nous trouvons en présence de trois frises; la première est composée de palmettes reliées entre elles par un motif cordiforme, la seconde d'une grecque, et la troisième de losanges ainsi que l'avaient déjà vu Solignac et Ferron.

Ce motif est pour nous la réponse à la question posée par l'origine de la scène navale, la confirmation de la dernière des thèses émises. Nous

13. P. Cintas, *Eléments d'études pour une protohistoire de la Tunisie,* Tunis, 1961, p. 33; A.M. Bisi, *op. cit.,* p. 92; J. Ferron, *op. cit.,* p. 55.

14. M. Solignac, Une peinture de la Tunisie septentrionale, *C.R.A.I.,* 1928, p. 354.

15. J. Ferron, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

16. A.M. Bisi, *op. cit.,* p. 89.

17. A.M. Bisi, et le père Ferron ont eu l'occasion de contempler la fresque de Kef el Blida en compagnie de M. Solignac lors d'une visite qu'ils firent sur le site en 1965 (A.M. Bisi, *op. cit.,* p. 86-87; J. Ferron, *op. cit.,* p. 53;. Il semble cependant qu'aucun d'entre eux n'ait pris de calque, de photographies ou de diapositives de la peinture. Le père Ferron a fait dessiner une reproduction de la scène par A. Bouden, professeur à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Tunis. Ce procédé, avec le risque d'interprétation qu'il engendre, nous paraît discutable. Les calques, photographies et diapositives que nous avons pris lors de nos très fréquentes visites sur la site, ne donnent pas la même "vision" de la scène centrale et des motifs figurant sur les parois latérales du hanout dans lequel malgré ses dimensions exiguës nous avons pu passer de nombreuses heures.

sommes en présence de trois univers culturels; l'univers phénicien, l'univers grec et l'univers libyque. Or l'art qui additionne, qui conjugue par excellence ces trois composantes est celui du monde punique et par osmose du monde libyque.

Des informations d'ordre essentiellement littéraire permirent aussi à de nombreux historiens d'affirmer l'appartenance égéenne des haouanet. Une tradition archaïque témoignerait en effet d'une colonisation ionienne depuis la région de Bizerte jusqu'à celle d'Annaba, tentée à partir de la Sicile, colonisation qui se serait maintenue du VIIe à la deuxième moitié du Ve siècle avant J.C.[18] Mais cette proposition ne rencontre sur le terrain aucune confirmation archéologique. D'autre part, on citait volontiers l'existence dans le nord-ouest de la Tunisie de la ville de Meschela signalée par Diodore de Sicile[19], fondée par des Grecs à leur retour de la guerre de Troie. Ville qui se serait trouvée dans une région "où sont groupées les plus importantes nécropoles en falaises reconnues en Tunisie septentrionale".[20] Mais on n'a cependant jamais trouvé trace de cette cité. P. Cintas prétendit avoir vu dans la région de l'oued Debbabsa, en Khroumirie, au pied d'une nécropole de haouanet, d'importants alignements de murs en pierres sèches et parmi eux de nombreux blocs grossièrement assemblés comme à l'Anaktoron de Pantalica en Sicile, palais édifié par un chef local où on aurait retrouvé des imitations barbares de l'architecture cnossienne.[21] Pour lui, il s'agissait là des restes de Meschela.[22] Affirmation qui nous paraît des plus gratuites et d'une absence totale de rigueur scientifique. Faut-il ajouter que la construction de murs en pierres sèches reste de nos jours encore une tradition bien ancrée en milieu rural.

La découverte dans des haouanet du Jbel Bchellel de certains types de peintures serait une autre confirmation de la théorie égéenne. Elles représentent par exemple, un personnage mi-humain, mi-cervidé[23] rappelant des figurations de même type trouvées à Knossos ou à Itanos, en Crète, datées du minoën récent[24]; ou des bateaux qui ne seraient que la copie de galères de course employées par les navigateurs crétois.[25] Un

18. St. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord,* Paris, 1913-1928, t. 1, p. 344.

19. Diodore de Sicile, XX, 57.

20. P. Cintas, *op. cit.,* p. 118.

21. Id., p. 36, 118.

22. Id., p. 118.

23. Dr. Deyrolle, Haouanet du Jbel Behelil, *Bull. Soc. Arch. Sousse,* 1903, p. 60; G. Camps, *op. cit.,* p. 103.

24. M. Solignac, *Les pierres écrites de la Berbérie orientale,* Tunis, 1928, p. 134-135.

25. Dr. Deyrolle, *op. cit.,* p. 65; M. Solignac, *op. cit.,* p. 132-133.

n'en trouve malheureusement plus trace de nos jours sur les parois des chambres.[26] Ou encore des cercles tracés au compas et inscrits dans des bandes rouges continues, motifs qui figurent sur un sarcophage crétois du minoën récent II.[27] Mais ce que M. Solignac considère comme des spirales, vieux décor géométrique bien antérieur à la civilisation grecque[28], et le Dr Deyrolle comme la représentation imparfaite d'une colonne surmontée d'un chapiteau d'ordre ionique[29], n'est en fait ni l'un ni l'autre. La seconde proposition se rapproche cependant de la réalité. Il s'agit bien là d'une surmontée d'un chapiteau, mais d'un chapiteau éolique, ce qui nous transporte à nouveau dans l'univers phénico et libyco-punique. A Ben Yasla, nous avons également la même représentation. Pour les autres enfin, l'analogie – frappante parfois – entre les nécropoles en falaises d'Afrique du Nord et les tombeaux creusés dans le roc de la Phrygie, de la Macédoine, de la Grèce, de la Crète, de Chypre et de la Sicile, suffit pour établir des liens de dépendance, les haouanet du Maghreb ne pouvant être que l'image imparfaite, abâtardie de ceux d'Asie Mineure, du monde égéen et grec.[30] Nous avons déjà dit ce que nous en pensions.

D'autres éléments appartenant à l'univers grec avaient été découverts par F. Bonniard dans des haouanet de l'oued Magsbaïa. Il s'agissait là encore d'un bateau rappelant, d'après lui, ceux qui sont peints sur des vases des Cyclades.[31] Un motif géométrique dont nous avons déjà eu à parler figurait sur une autre paroi du même hanout: une grecque dont la facture, est un peu différente de la précédente. Mais ce motif n'est pas en lui-même une preuve de l'influence directe de l'art grec sur nos peintures ou gravures (la grecque étant ici gravée puis soulignée à la peinture). Car si les grecques et les postes appartiennent au répertoire

26. Nous n'avons pu observer sur le site que "la série de traits pouvant représenter la proue d'un bateau". (Dr Deyrolle, *op. cit.,* p. 66). Les autres représentations de bateaux semblent bien avoir disparu ainsi que le signalait déjà M. Solignac. *(op. cit.,* p. 132).

27. M. Solignac, *op. cit.,* p. 131; G. Camps, *op. cit.,* p. 102.

28. M. Solignac, *op. cit.,* p. 128-130.

29. Dr. Deyrolle, *op. cit.,* p. 66 et 68; M. Solignac, *op. cit.,* p. 128-129.

30. Dr. Bertholon, Sépultures dans le roc en falaise, *Rev. Tun.,* 1904, p. 352-354; F. Bonniard, Les chambres sépulcrales creusées dans le roc et leur répartition géographique en Tunisie septentrionale, *Asoc. Franç. Avanc. Sciences,* 1928, p. 473-474, par exemple.

31. F. Bonniard, Sur quelques peintures rupestres des chambres sépulcrales creusées dans le roc en Tunisie septentrionale, *B.A.C.,* 1928-1929, p. 301; La silhouette du bateau telle qu'elle apparaît de nos jours sur la paroi latérale droite du hanout de l'oued Magsbaïa est assez différente de la représentation qu'en a donnée F. Bonniard *(op. cit.,* p. 301, Fig. 1) dans un croquis trop sommaire; G. Camps, *op. cit.,* p. 103.

iconographique des univers hèllénique et hèllénistique et sont utilisés dans les mosaïques déliennes en bandes d'encadrement de champ ou de panneau, on les retrouve sur des mosaïques puniques.[32] Ils sont également abondamment employés dans les mosaïques d'époque romaine en Afrique du Nord, en Tunisie en particulier où de nombreuses mosaïques, comme celles d'Utique par exemple, datées de la fin du IIe, du IIIe et du VIème siècle après J.C., en possèdent.[33] Une mosaïque de Béja ornée d'une grecque serait datée du Xe/XIe siècle après J.C. C'est dire que ces derniers éléments qui furent employés du monde punique jusqu'au monde musulman, ne nous apportent guère de précision en ce qui concerne la datation des peintures et donc des haouanet.

Ces postes récemment découverts à Ben Yasla font partie d'un motif disposé sur trois registres, les deux autres appartenant à l'univers libyco-punique. Les rosaces inscrites dans des cercles sont fréquentes sur les stèles puniques. Quant au damier, il s'agit d'un motif géométrique souvent utilisé dans le monde libyque. Et si le motif peint de part et d'autre d'une niche qui représente deux fauves affrontés des lionnes ou des panthères est un thème funéraire attesté dans le monde mycénien, il l'est aussi dans le monde étrusque et dans le monde romano-africain. N'oublions pas le caractère chtonien du lion. Quant au caducée que l'on peut observer ici dans un hanout de Jebel Choucha et qui est si souvent gravé ou sculpté sur les stèles puniques, si l'on considère qu'il s'agit d'un emprunt au répertoire iconographique du monde grec où il est connu comme l'attribut d'Hermès, il ne faut pas oublier qu'il est ici associé au signe dit de Tanit qui semble bien avoir été créé à Carthage et diffusé à partir de cette cité.[34] En Sardaigne, le caducée accompagne toujours le signe dit de Tanit et il y est souvent associé sur les stèles de Carthage et sur les stèles néo-puniques de Téboursouk.[35] C'est donc ici encore la composante punique qui l'emporte. Prenons un dernier exemple dans le domaine de la sculpture. Des pilastres surmontés de chapiteaux doriques décorent les niches de quelques haouanet d'El Guetma. Mais dans le même site, d'autres niches sont surmontées d'un entablement sculpté de type gorge égyptienne, contemporain du creusement de la chambre, élément d'architecture punique par excellence.

Quels enseignements tirer alors de la documentation dont nous dispo-

32. M. Fantar, *Kerkouane, cité punique du Cap Bon,* Tunis, 1984, t. 1, p. 509.

33. M.A. Alexander et M. Ennaifer, *Corpus des Mosaïques de Tunisie,* Tunis, 1973, vol. 1, fasc. 1, p. 74, no. 85, fasc. 11, p. 23, no. 175, p. 88, no. 241 D.

34. M. Fantar, *op. cit.,* p. 508.

35. Id., *op. cit.,* p. 506.

sons? Il ya bien dans les peintures et les gravures qui ornent les chambres sépulcrales de Khroumirie, des Mogods et même du Cap Bon, de nombreux éléments qui trouvent leur origine dans le monde hellénique et hellénistique. Ces figurations ne sont pas, nous l'avons vu, la preuve de l'influence directe qu'auraient eu sur l'art et les croyances autochtones, des Grecs venus peupler les côtes du Nord-ouest de la Tunisie, hypothèse dont nous savons la fragilité. Mais elles portent témoignage d'une influence indirecte. Cet apport du monde hellénique à l'Afrique du Nord, nous le devons aux Phéniciens et plus particulièrement aux Puniques dont les oeuvres furent fortement marquées par le souffle de l'art grec auquel ils empruntèrent de nombreux éléments. On pourrait cependant envisager qu'à défaut de colonisation grecque à proprement parler, des contacts eurent lieu entre les marins et les commerçants grecs et les populations du N.-W. de la Tunisie antérieurement à la fin du VIème siècle avant notre ère, c'est-à-dire dans une période où Carthage assurément ne jouissait pas encore d'une situation hégémonique en Méditerranée occidentale et notamment en Afrique. Bien entendu, ces marins et ces commerçants auraient alors sûrement introduit leurs céramiques.

Dans cette hypothèse, ce serait à notre avis, aux vases grecs de la période géométrique – dont on connaît bien les frises de losanges, de cercles, de damiers – que les Libyens qui creusaient les haouanet auraient emprunté certains de leurs motifs. Inversément, les Libyens auraient pu se rendre dans le monde grec et souhaiter reproduire chez eux les éléments d'architecture et de décoration qui leur plaisaient. C'est une hypothèse qui n'est pas à rejetter de prime abord même si aucune preuve tangible n'existe sur le terrain, mais qu'il faut envisager avec la plus extrême prudence.

Ce que l'on peut dire sans risquer de se tromper, c'est que les fresques pariétales des haouanet de Khroumirie et des Mogods et de Tunisie en général, procèdent de ce grand fond culturel qui nous est commun: la Méditerranée.

MONIQUE LONGERSTAY

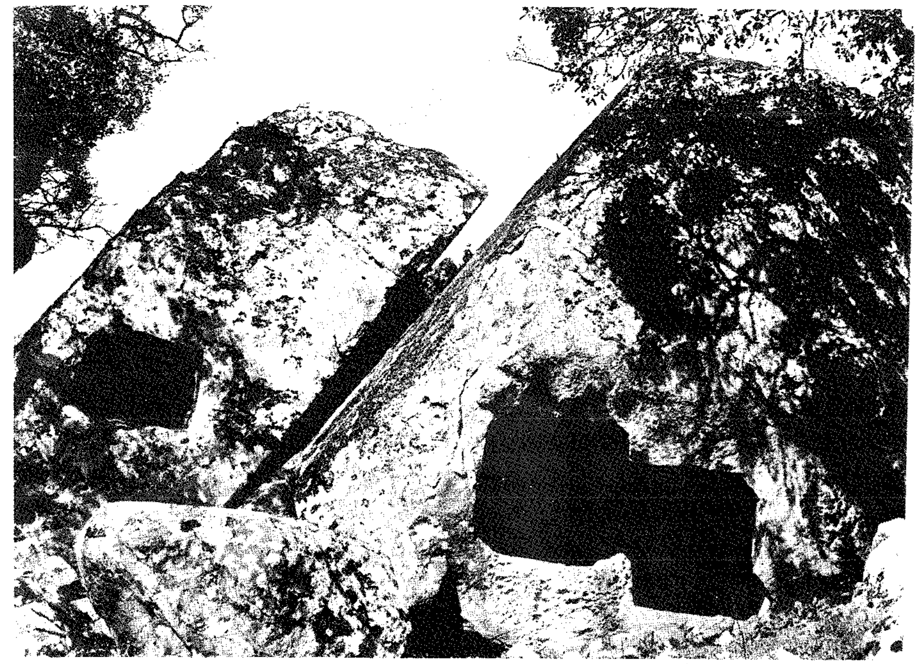


Fig. 1. Haouanet D-C-B/Kef el Blida Tabarka (Khroumirie).



Fig. 2. Kef el Blida (Khroumirie). Scène navale peinte sur la faroi posterieure.

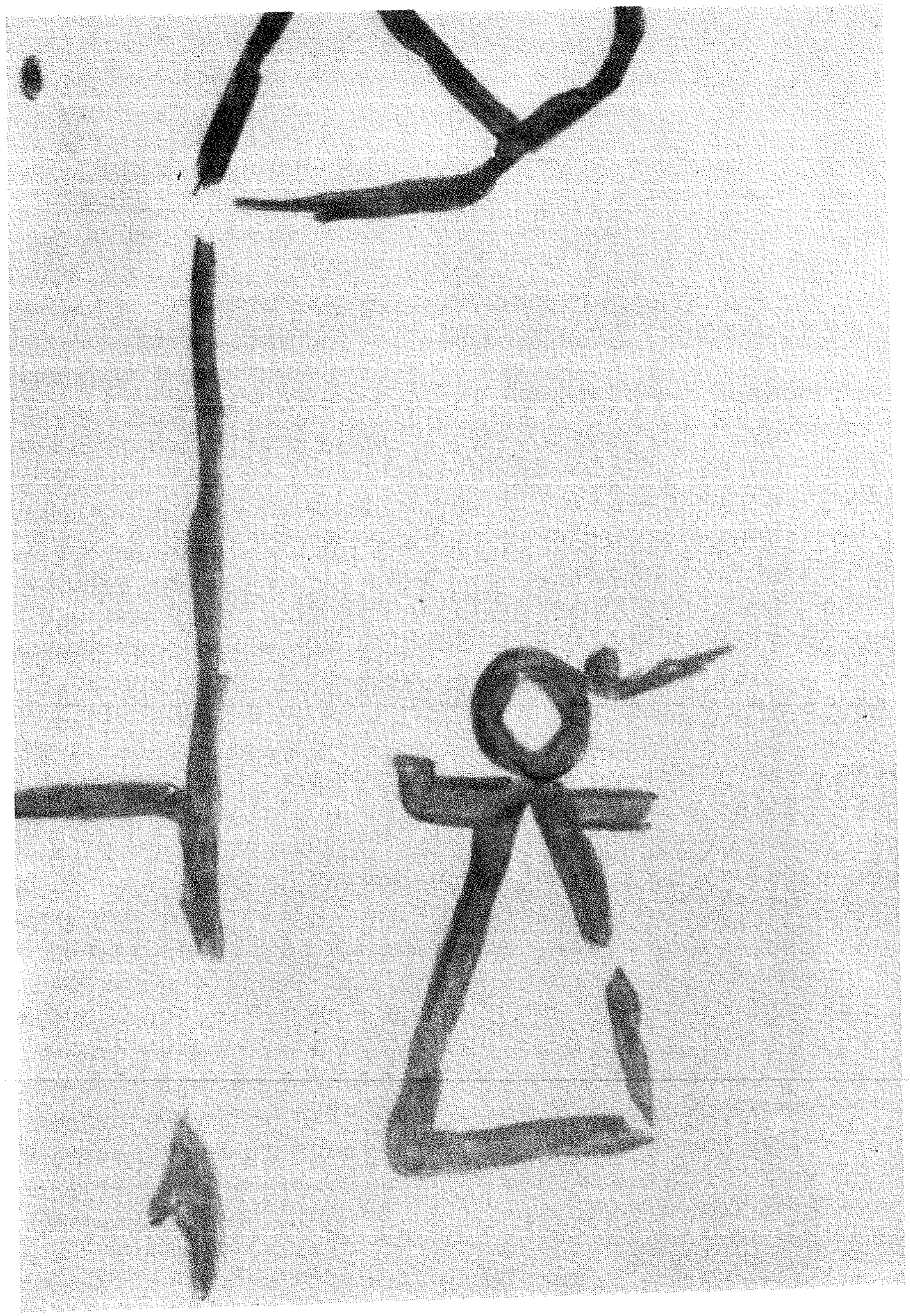


Fig. 3. Jbel Choucha (Mogods). Représentation du signe dit de Tanit dans un hanout.

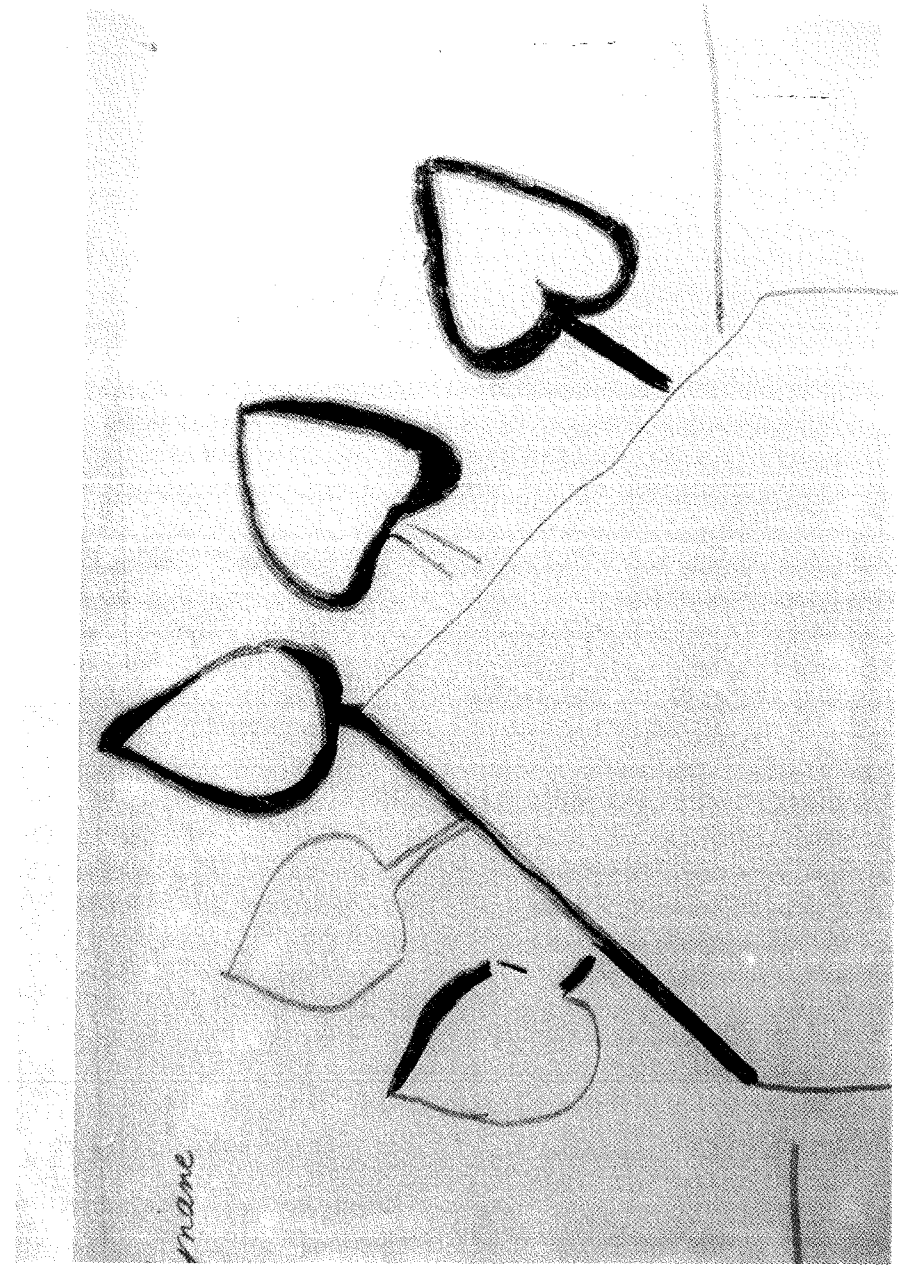


Fig. 4. Qued Magsbaïa (Mogods). Feuilles de lierre entourant la niche.

Archaeological evidence on Byzantine architecture in Alexandria

Since Ward-Perkins complained about the lack of information on Christian and early Medieval architecture in Alexandria, casual, and systematical excavations being carried out in the city recently, changed the picture so much that I can only present a small part of its new features in a limited time here[1].

If the plan of Alexandria in the XVth century, as we know from the words of one of the governors of the Medieval city, was still resembling the chessboard, we can accept an opinion that the streets were still of Ptolemaic orientation with Roman additions only[2]. The lately excavated street R4 at Kom el Dikka is of Ptolemaic origin paved in the Roman period, and located exactly in the place where Mahmoud el Falaki put it on his plan in 1866[3]. We may conclude that the street system in Alexandria inherited from previous epochs, existed in Early Medieval period without any substantial changes, but quarters within the city as that one between the street R4 and R5, south of Via Canopica had been changed remarkably[4]. Here a rich residential quarter of early Roman period was abandoned in the IVth century, and on its place had been constructed a new collonaded street which bordered a big bath of the so-called Kaiser Thermen class, with its own huge cistern. This street was also bordering the theatre built in the same time as the bath. Afterwards the theatre was heavily rebuilt in the VIth century into a meeting hall, and three smaller meeting halls were recently unearthed between the northern portico of

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1. J.B. Ward Perkins, The Shrine of St. Menas in the Maryut. Papers of the British School at Rome 17, 1949, pp. 26-71; Ward Perkins, The Monastery of Taposiris Magna, BSAA 44, 1943, pp. 48-53.
2. Zoubdat Kachf al Mamalik. Ed. Ravaisse, Paris 1894, p. 40.
3. Mahmoud el Falaki, Mémoire sur l'antique Alexandrie, Copenhagen.
4. M. Rodziewicz, Les Habitations Romaines Tardives d'Alexandrie, Warsaw 1984, p. 59 ff.

the bath, and the theatre street where all the major buildings determine the public character of the quarter. Other changes reach further to the West, possibly close to the street R5, located just behind modern Nabi Daniel street. Early Roman structures were demolished there at the end of the IVth century, or the beginning of the Vth century A.D., and the area was transformed into a large public ground or park without any constructions chronologically parallel to the bath and meeting halls. In the eastern seeter of the area changes were also significant. The rich residential houses of early Roman period were dismantled in the IVth century after destruction by fire, and changed into modest habitual blocks, occupied by craftsmen, and located along the street R4 only, while the inner ground between the street R3-R4, L1-L2 were transformed into an artificial hill formed by debris[5]. This hill became a remarkable element of the Christian Alexandria landscape, called the Copron Mons by Sieglin on his map from 1893[6]. So all the area right in the centre of the city just south of the Via Canopica was substantially rebuilt, so far that only directions of the streets, and orientation of all new buildings were of older origin[7]. The street R4 existed on a higher level till the Xth century A.D. with until now one house of the late VIIIth century unearthed, containing a large courtyard with stands for animals, and several small shops[8]. As part of a still vivid city, the area south of Via Canopica started to change substantially already in the early VIIth century, because the decay of all buildings started most probably already during the Persian occupation of the city, when the meeting hall was most probably already not in use as it had been before by the Byzantine political factions, whose activities in the building were fully presented by Borkowski in the second volume of "Alexandrie"[9]. The big public bath followed its fate, as did the neighbouring habitation of glass and jewelry producers who in time of economical change, and decay, also lost the visitors of the public baths as their clients, and abandoned the houses along the street R4, which already in the time of the Arab conquest in 642 formed a partly dismantled, roofless ruin.

Despite the fact that the area was included into the smaller Medieval city surrounded by walls built during the time of Muttakawill, it nevertheless changed its character in a most unexpected way in becoming the largest Muslim cemetery in town[10]. This fact can be explained by the most recent identification of the park, or public ground between street R5, and the so-called theatre street. There the oldest inscriptions were found, identified and dated by Combe to 805, while the so-called Lower Muslim Necropolis, dated to the VIIIth century A.D. existed here before, and covered all the recently excavated parts of the garden. Further to the east Muslim tombs were located only in the passages between the abandoned buildings. During the centuries that followed even the highest edifices in the area were covered with the Fatimid, or so called Upper Muslim Necropolis, creating a characteristic element of the city of purely Muslim character, until the Mameluk period, when it was covered with huge amounts of debris, which swallowed the already mentioned older Copron Mons mound, forming altogether a very elongated hill called Kom el Dick. Its western part was used by the Napoleonic army, as the location of a fort dismantled and evacuated in the fifties of this century. So this peculiar area went through a series of specific urbanistic changes.

From a historical point of view important are houses excavated east of street R4 (fig. 1), the only preserved from the whole city[11]. They represent a type of modest stone buildings, most probably a type most numerous in the city, shaping the urban picture of Byzantine Alexandria. The form of buildings is not exactly of this period, since it was inherited as we find similar forms on the marble plan of Rome from the early IIIrd century A.D.[12]. We found a remarkable influence also from Ostia, which was bound with Alexandria economically for centuries. The most representative in the quarter is house "D" located directly at the street R4[13]. It contains two blocks with numerous ground rooms located along a narrow, but long, open courtyard (fig. 2), closed from the side of the street by entry room eisodos-exodos, and two small shops, by a staircase leading to the upper floor on the opposite end[14]. The courtyard behind eisodos functioned as the reception place equipped with stone benches, where water could have been served from a neighbouring room which pos-

5. M. Rodziewicz, Nouvelles données sur le quartier de Kopron à Alexandrie, ET XI, 1979, pp. 79-89.

6. M. Rodziewicz, Les Habitations Romaines Tardives d'Alexandrie, op. cit. Pl. 2, p. 364.

7. M. Rodziewicz, op. cit., p. 17 ff.

8. Ibid, p. 336-347.

9. Z. Borkowski, Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie, Alexandrie II, Warsaw 1981.

10. E. Promińska, Investigations on the Population of Muslim Alexandria, Warsaw 1972.

11. M. Rodziewicz, Les Habitations Romains Tardives d'Alexandrie, op. cit.

12. P. Zincans, Über die Haustypen der Forma Urbis, Opuscula Archeologica II, 1941, pp. 183-194.

13. M. Rodziewicz, Les Habitations Romains Tardives d'Alexandrie, op. cit., pp. 66-127, fig. 50-141, plan III.

14. Ibid, fig. 125.

seses a well, and two constructed water basins. The central part of the courtyard served for prayer in front of the southern wall painting, depicting Jesus Christ with the Madonna on the throne, bordered by two Angels[15]. Below it were hanging lamps attached to the iron nails in the wall. The third part of the courtyard served as the sanitarian (the latrine was located there), and communication section, because of a staircase leading up. Several ground rooms are decorated with very uniquely carved, geometrical, and floral ornaments of Mareotic origin[16]. The finds suggest that the ground floor rooms served mostly as workshops, and storerooms of the glass products, mostly beads, while the living quarters were located on the upper floors, which were connected by outer, wooden galeries[17]. The façade possessed at least one door, large shopping windows on the ground, and most probably one balcony with small columns in its northern part (fig. 4)[18]. The building was housing a large number of people, more than one family, all united by Christian religion and by profession. They formed one Christian community from the late Vth till the VIIth century A.D. The house must have been the most typical in town. Behind it, two other blocks ("B" and "F") were arranged similarly[19].

Besides this house of middle class character, some remains of rich urban villas from the same period were spotted in casual digs, located along Via Canopica, close to street R3, and another one located close to street L2, in front of the theatre[20]. In both cases the unearthed sections were located around 30 metres from the street, and were typical enough to judge that they served as the private baths of medium and small scale connected with the villas[21]. Both spaces between those baths and streets were big enough for location of one large, or two smaller courtyards or perystyles, both with, as for urban houses or villas, a remarkable surface of over one thousand square metres. Judging from the small remains they were equipped with mosaics, and incrustations, and also paintings on the walls. Both of them can be included in to the class of rich houses or urban villas of the Christian period, similar to the ones unearthed not long ago in Mareotis ca 45 km. south-west of Alexandria[22].

15. Ibid, fig. 236.
16. Ibid, pp. 227-235, fig. 256-257.
17. Ibid, fig. 62 and 125.
18. Ibid, fig. 339.
19. Ibid, pp. 128-159, plan III.
20. Ibid, pp. 313-329.
21. Ibid, fig. 328-329.
22. There, south of lake Mariut (ancient Mareotis) a double peristyle villa rustica with

The mentioned private baths have remarkable properties. Their arrangement and size of the basins in frigidarium are similar to the bath in Abu Mena and Mareotis, indicating their Alexandrian origin, and development from the medium size bath of Alexandria.

In Alexandria itself baths were numerous as we learn from various literary sources of different periods. We do have from the early Roman period one small bath identified as a private one at Kom el Dikka[23]. Large scale baths were recorded in the Royal Quarter, and at the street R4 also at Kom el Dikka, while the bath excavated by Henry Riad at Kom el Shougafa seems to belong to the medium scale bath. The largest bath at street R4 represents the biggest, so-called Kaiserthermen type, usually financed by the emperors. In Alexandria we know several baths of late Roman and Christian time by name. The earlier ones bore the names of emperors like for example, the bath of Trajan or Diokletian, while later they are known as Ippos, Hygeia, Iasis, Kantharos etc.[24]. In Alexandria baths were widely restored and built in the IVth and Vth centuries. Their architectural plans and locations are closely connected with other such buildings in the Mediterranean, especially North Africa, so they should be treated as imported architectural elements of late Roman, and Byzantine period. The bath at Kom el Dikka is of remarkable size and was built in the IVth century, and enlarged in the middle of the VIth century. During the last period, the brick-made heated part of it was plastered, and painted several times, as we understand from the bath depicting St. Damian and St. Cosmas, proving rich religious representations in the baths of this period. It seems that it formed an essential, and spectacular part of the city, and most of the baths ceased to function during the Persian occupation of Alexandria at the beginning of the VIIth century A.D.

nearly a 60 metres long aqueduct, and a total surface of ca. 1.800 m² was built on the plan of a large urban house, but in a local rural structure. The house was heavily rebuilt, and in its second stage a church was built with an apsis at the eastern end, and a baptisterium in the neighbouring, southern room was arranged between two peristyles. The Church in the plan of letter T, 22 metres long and 5 metres wide, was equipped in the eastern part with an excellent mosaic opus sectile of geometrical pattern, but depicting in some places a double thyrsos belonging to the prechristian tradition. The house served since the Vth century A.D. most probably as the hospitium for pilgrims going to Abu Mena. This building is also sheding some more light on the late Alexandrian housing of luxury class, while another house excavated in 1975 by Dr. Oxenschlager in Taposiris Magna, or the peristyle house in Abu Mena reflect another version of the Alexandrian house of Coptic period.

23. K. Kolodziejczyk, Private Roman Bath at Kom el Dikka in Alexandria, ET II, 1968, pp. 143-154.

24. A. Berger, Das Bad in der Byzantinischen Zeit, Munich 1982.

We also have another kind of public buildings in Alexandria from late Roman and Byzantine period, namely that of the meeting halls (fig. 5). The first one called traditionally the theatre at Kom el Dikka, was substantially reshaped in the VIth century A.D. to such an extent, that its first original function whether it was a theatre or odeon, ceased to exist, and the building, as the inscriptions prove served political gatherings for members, and enthusiasts of the Byzantine factions[25]. Besides the formation of an elongated auditorium, substantial change happened in the communication system too. As few pieces of marble slabs prove the entrance was reduced to one only, and located on the axis of the edifice, through the very solid western wall of the building. The opening of this door must have been hewn out from the wall, while both original entries were blocked. This leads to the transformation of the stage building area into a vestibule, or entry hall only. This rearrangement led most probably to similar arrangements in the smaller meeting halls mentioned above at the northern part of the theatre street (fig. 6). Their entries were located also on the axis of the auditoriums from the north, leading to the space without seats, which served as the vestibule, the further to the auditoriae with two circular, and one square arrangement of seats. In the central hall there were four rows of seats made of plastered stones, while in the two other there are only three. The only remarkable further element was located on the centre, in the circular part of auditoria, namely the steps of a short staircase, leading the most honorable persons to the central seat. This arrangement reminds again the location of two exceptional seats in the theatre meeting hall, which was built in the VIth century A.D. It may suggest that the small ones were serving similar purpose as the big one, but not necessarily for hippodrom factions only. Unfortunately no inscriptions were preserved here, while the artifacts were very poor, and not charcteristic enough for drawing out any sensible conclusions about the character of gatherings. The edifices were not built from original plan, as one unit, but they adopted several walls of older structures into a desired shape. So it is therefore an important document, informing about a certain architectural tendency or adaptation, most probably based on a reshaped form of the theatre at Kom el Dikka. Those meeting halls existed in the city among other public buildings like bath and big water houses, and close to the public park, along the collonaded Theatre street.

Summarising this condensed and synthetical review of archaeological evidence on civil architecture of Byzantine Alexandria, it should be mentioned that besides the meeting halls with their exceptional rearrangements of older structures, the rest of the building followed the architectural models noted already in other Mediterranean sites.We notice the frequent reuse of older architectural decorative elements with only additional local modifications and a stubborn resistance to the other versions of Coptic architectural decor from Egypt. The only exception appears in the carved decoration of house "D" in the street R4, which, judging from the most recent discoveries in Mareotis, could have been imported from there. How far other districts of the city were changed in early Medieval times can be revealed more easily in the literary sources which are more useful in this matter than the archaeological evidence as has been already shown in older publications. We are still lacking any archaeological data about the original creations of the earliest churches in Alexandria itself, save for certain finds of scattered, imported huge Byzantine capitals from the south eastern part of the city. We are similarly at dark concerning the earliest mosques, adapted or newly built. We may only suspect that they brought into the city new architectural forms and ornaments, similar to the stucco decoration deposited at Kom el Dikka from an unknown location in the city at the end of the Xth century A.D. This deposit is distinguished for the so-called thousand twisting brick technique, combined with a pointed arch shows an influx of architectural elements to Alexandria, grown and matured in the Eastern sites like Samaria and Baghdad[26].

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25. Z. Borkowski, Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie, Warsaw 1981.

26. M. Rodziewicz, Graeco-Islamic elements at Kom el Dikka in the light of the new Discoveries, Graeco-Arabica I, 1982, pp. 35-49, fig. 5.

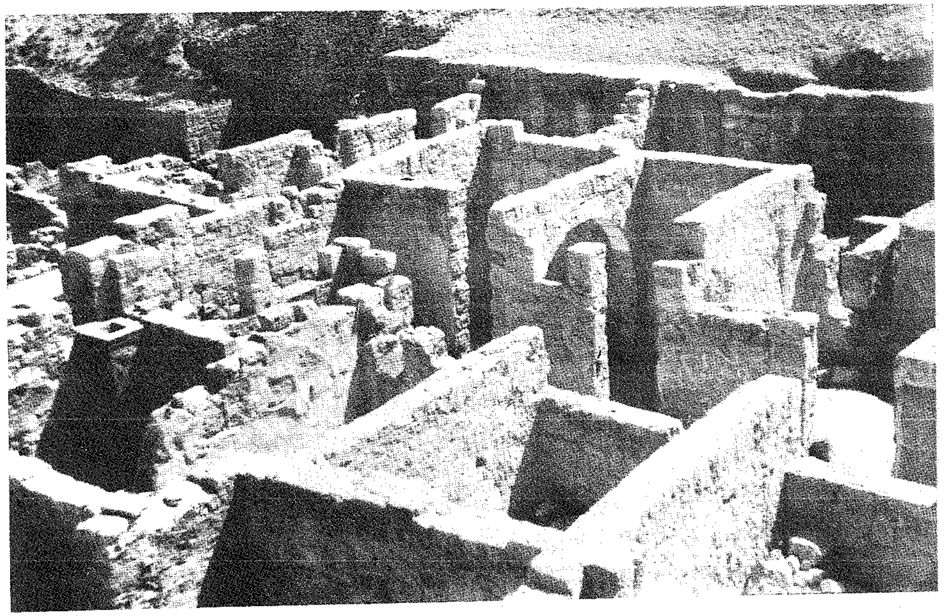


Fig. 1. Part of the habitations quarter at ancient street R4, seen from north-west.



Fig. 2. Habitation quarter. Open courtyard of house D, seen from west. On the left side bench made of stones. Modern building on the background is located on the late Roman and Byzantine artificial hill Copron Mons.

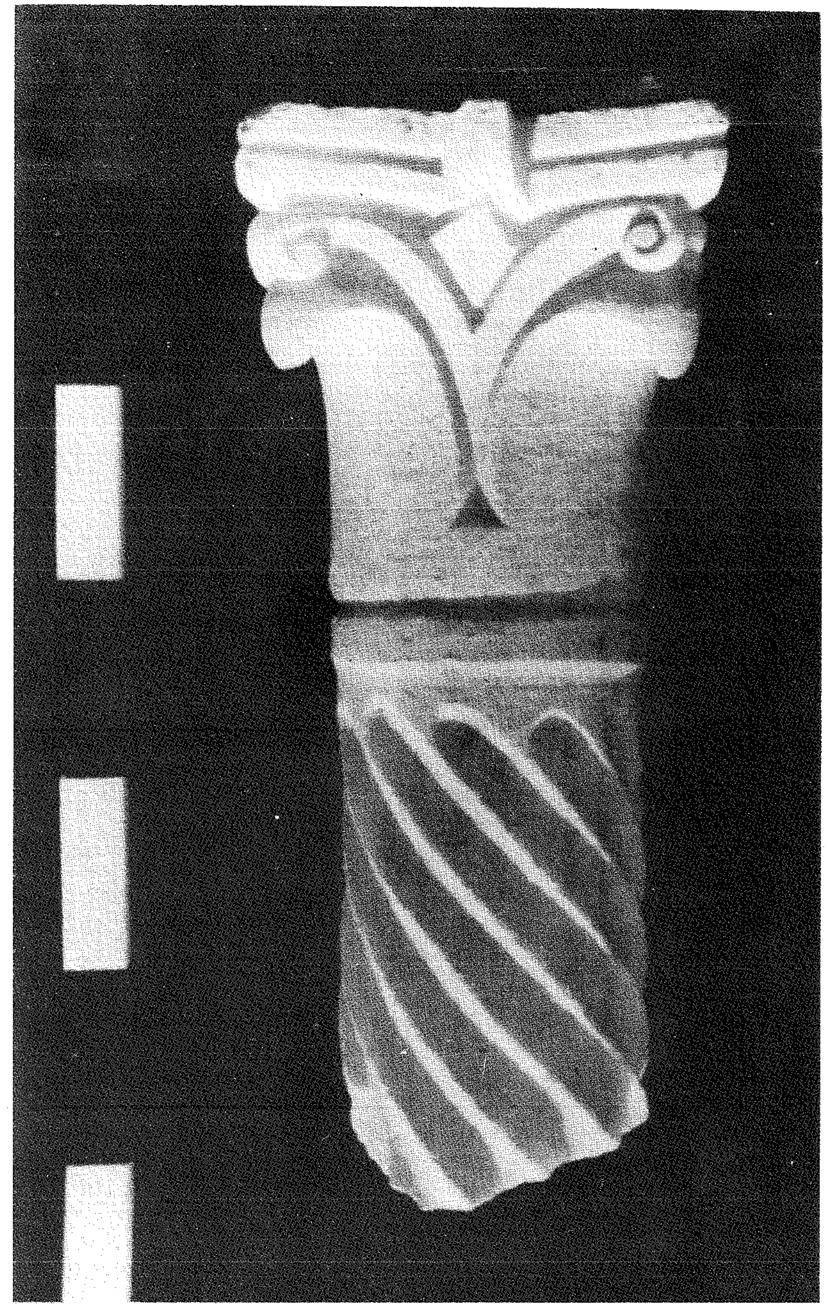


Fig. 3. Column from house E.

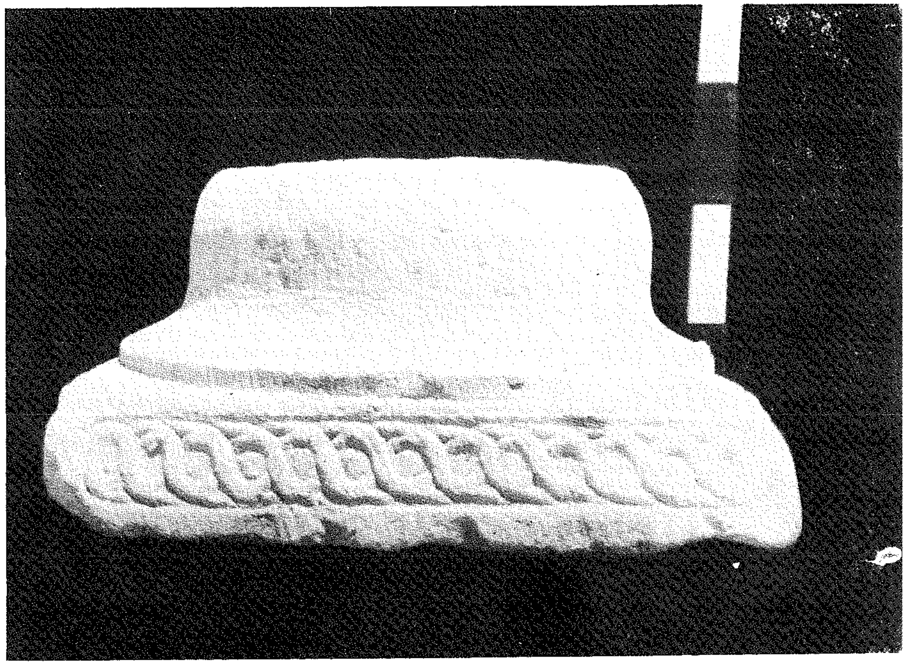


Fig. 4. Marble base from house E.

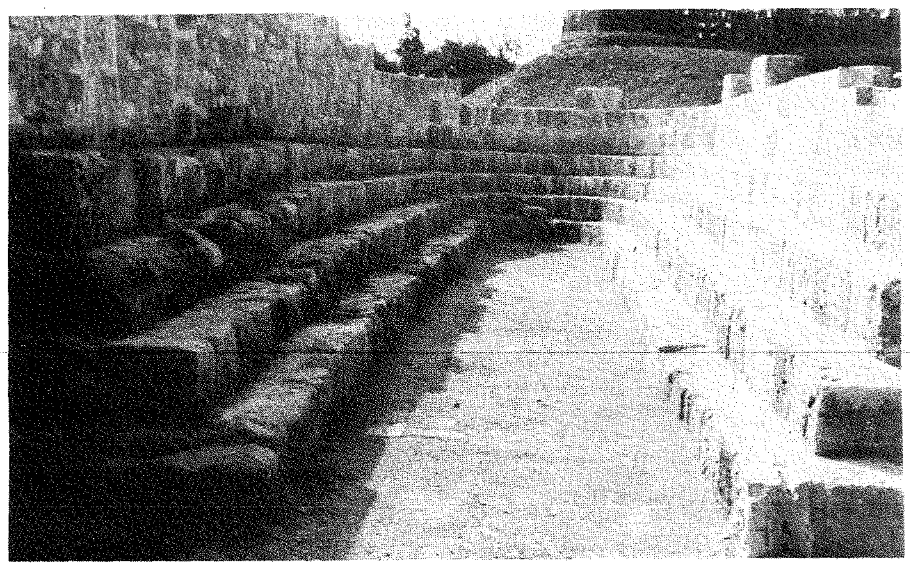
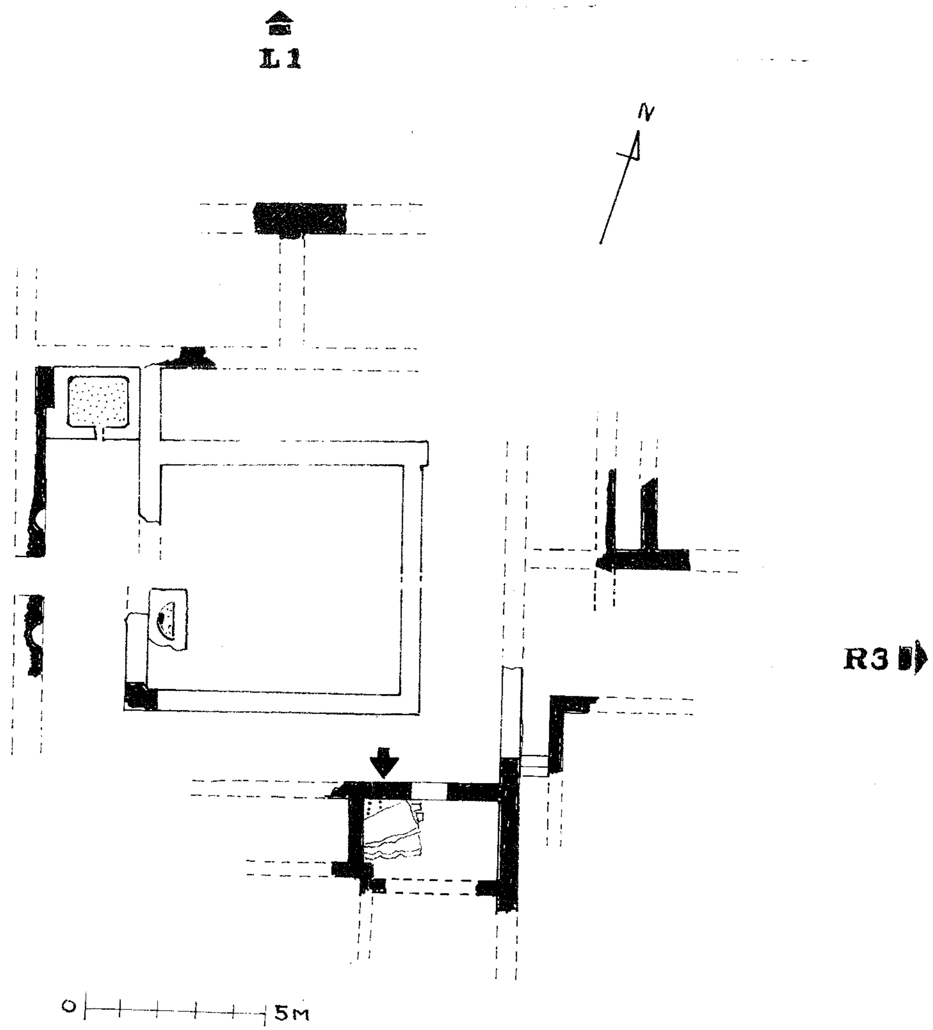


Fig. 6. Small meeting hall, west of the large bath at Kom el Dikka. Seen from the north.



Byzantine and Islamic Arms and Armour; Evidence for Mutual Influence

The technology of warfare is an area in which cultures have readily copied their neighbours or rivals. The reasons are obvious. In war survival generally depends on success and so, thoughout history, effective weapons or tactics have been widely copied. Only the most deep-rooted constraints, such as the availability of raw materials or certain fundamental sociological characteristics of the recipient culture, have been able to inhibit this kind of diffusion. Even non-essential military fashions, including clothing and the decoration of horse-harness, have moved with remarkable ease across the most hostile frontiers. It remains a fact that imitation is the highest form of military compliment.

Byzantine and Islamic civilizations seem to have been particularly adaptable in military matters. This almost certainly enabled Byzantium to survive for so long, surrounded by powerful and predatory foes. Byzantine military adaptability and willingness to learn from, as well as to recruit, those that the Greeks regarded as barbarians stood in stark contrast to Byzantine conservatism in so many other fields. Perhaps the fact that war was here regarded as a barbarous necessity, rather than being idealised as in so many medieval societies, enabled Byzantium to behave in this uncharacteristic manner.

The reasons for Islam's military eclecticism are more complicated. Unlike Byzantium, early Islam was generally not on the defensive and thus had no obvious reason to imitate the arms, armour, tactics and military organisation of a successful foe. Eclectism and openness seem, however, to have been characteristic of Arab-Islamic culture in almost all fields except, of course, religion. Added to this was the fact that, from the 7th to 11th centuries, three major ethnic groups enjoyed varying degrees of successive military dominance in the eastern and central Islamic lands; namely the Arabs, Iranians and Turks. Of course ethnicity or "race" has nothing to do with military skill, but the martial traditions of

these three peoples did differ. A process of imitation and diffusion could also be seen within the widespread and militarily varied Muslim world during these five centuries.

Before looking for direct military-technological diffusion between Byzantium and Islam, it is important to emphasise the fact that both these great civilizations were under persistent military influence from the nomadic peoples of the Eurasian steppes. Indeed the overwhelming weight of evidence indicates that it was from the north, rather than from each other, that they received most new military ideas. Meanwhile Western Europe contributed little or nothing that was original until the 12th century while the evidence for specifically Indian military influence upon Islam remains unclear. The role of China as an initiator of technological change may prove crucial but was, of course, felt in both Islam and Byzantium via the medium of Turco-Mongol steppe peoples. Berber military traditions, as far as they are yet understood, had only minor local influence in North Africa, the Iberian Peninsula and perhaps Egypt. The rôle of Armenia was probably crucial, as one would expect given its geographical position, metallurgical wealth and warlike traditions. Unfortunately, very little study has as yet been made of this aspect of medieval Armenian culture.

The present paper focuses on the archaeological and pictorial records rather than documentary sources. On the Islamic side the latter are moderately straightforward, whereas medieval Greek literature is often consciously archaic, stylized and potentially misleading.[1] Similar problems apply to Byzantine art which is full of archaism, conventional models and stylized weaponry. This is not to say that such pictorial sources cannot be used in the study of Byzantine arms and armour. They merely have to be treated with extreme caution. Generally speaking it appears that the artistic creations of Constantinople and the Imperial heartlands are the most difficult to interpret whereas the cruder works of provincial and frontier regions tend to reflect current reality more closely. Perhaps the first discipline that needs to be learned is that of disregarding almost anything that harks back to a Classical past. By thus mentally "blacking out" large parts on an illustration one may be left with a number of interesting military features such as curved swords or helmets related to those of neighbouring cultures. These vestigial elements sometimes also find echoes in the meagre archaeological record.

The problems associated with pre-Saljūk Islamic art stem not so much

1. C. Mango, "Byzantine literature as a distorting mirror" in *Byzantium and its Image* (Collected Studies, London 1984).

from archaism as from a stylization that can almost reach abstraction, the repetition of relatively few models and, in most areas, the extreme rarity of such illustrated sources. On the other hand the specifically Islamic artistic record can be supplemented by that of the many Christian communities who flourished within the Muslim world. Their art naturally reflected that of Byzantium and other Christian areas outside Islam, but such communities did develop distinctive styles during the five centuries under consideration. It is also becoming clear that, in Egypt and the Fertile Crescent for example, there was a considerable degree of mutual influence between Christian and at least the secular Muslim visual arts. A similar process could be seen in Iran and Transoxania. One has only to look at the portrayal of military figures and their equipment within the Muslim world to see, on one hand, similarities between Christian and Islamic courses and, on the other, dissimilarities with Byzantine art. Once again, however, the art of border regions such as Cappadocia, Armenia, Ādharbayjān and the Jazīrah betray influences from both sides of the frontier.

Surprisingly, perhaps, the archaeological record is richer on the Islamic side than on the Byzantine, though neither could be described as abundant. Chance has presumably played its part but the relatively large number of surviving military artifacts from early medieval Islam also reflects a greater archaeological concentration on that side of the cultural divide. It may also stem from medieval Islam's relatively greater wealth in metals and its remarkably far-flung, flourishing patterns of trade. Where Byzantium is concerned one gets the maybe misleading impression that nothing was ever wasted, that damaged weaponry was always retrieved, repaired or recycled. Abundant or otherwise it is, nevertheless, from these archaeological records that any study must begin.

THE SINGLE-EDGED DAGGER

The large knife or dagger is one of the simplest forms of weapon. Surviving examples from the early medieval period have been found throughout much of Europe and Asia. The single-edged form was particularly widespread, so much so that it cannot be regarded as characteristic of any one society or area. However the presence of a small crosspiece or hilt-plate between the tang and the blade on two such knives from Jordan is worth nothing. These small hilt-plates were probably not guards or quillons but served to protect the base of perhaps wooden grips. These were, in turn, probably of the "whittle" type in which

a hole was drilled into the handle or grip for the tang.[2] That on a dagger from an early Byzantine site near the Dead Sea (fig. 1b) has a bronze hilt-plate whereas that on a dagger from Pella, datable to the early or mid-8th century, is of iron. Two or perhaps three daggers are shown being used to dismember animals following a successful hunt on the Umāyyad wall paintings at Qusayr 'Amra (figs. 11c-e). The fact that these have hilt-plates which are, in one case quite clearly, green on the paintings could suggest a bronze construction.[3] As far at the Umāyyad-period Pella dagger is concerned one can safely assume a continuity of design and structure from the preceding Byzantine period.

THE BROAD-BLADED, ROUND-TIPPED DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD

Straight swords were almost universal in both the Islamic and Byzantine regions during the period under consideration. The double-edged type could be long and slender, as in late Sassanian Iran,[4] but here we are considering relatively short and broad blades. Indeed Arab infantry took pride in the small size of their presumably handier weapons.[5] These had more in common with, and may have been descended from, the Roman *gladius.*[6] It is also worth noting that the Arabic word *sayf* was almost certainly derived from the Greek *xiphos.* The Arab infantry's delight in short swords was, however, expressed in comparison with the weapons of the Khurāsānis and Turks, not in comparison with Byzantine weapons.[7] A number of such blades may survive from the early Islamic and immediate pre-Islamic periods. Among those highly contentious swords associated with leading early Islamic figures, now in the Topkapi Reliquary, are some broad, double-edged and basically blunt-tipped weapons with and without *fuller* grooves down their blades (figs. 2b-c). All the weapons in the Reliquary have, of course, been given much later hilts while some have had later decoration added to their blades. Non-Muslim scholars may be permitted to query their association with specific early Islamic leaders but the previous tendency to dismiss all these weapons as products of a later period is now being questioned in the light of recent archaeological evidence. The partial remains of a similar blade have been founded at Nishāpūr (fig. 2a), though in a poorly stratified possibly 9th or 10th century context. The fact that this blade is approximately 6 centimetres wide is particularly interesting given the similar dimensions of a similarly dated iron sword-hilt from Saudi Arabia (fig. 3a). Another comparable weapon was found in Oman and has been provisionally dated to the late Sassanian period. Rather different is a sword from a 10th century western Islamic shipwreck (fig. 2e). Its pointed blade has much in common with similarly dated western European swords. However its strongly curved quillons would not appear in Europe for more than a century and the distinctive top of its tang, presumably to go inside a similarly shaped pommel, has no parallel in Europe. Meanwhile the artistic record of Byzantium and its cultural satellites, and of the Islamic world, provide numerous illustrations of straight swords. Many are broad, symmetrical and thus probably double-edged while most, though by no means all, are relatively blunt-tipped (figs. 13, 15d, 19, 25, 28, 30, 34, 36a-b, 40, 45, 46a-b, 47, 48a-f, 50a-b, 51, 54a & 60a-b). I am, however, inclined to regard the widespread use of these weapons in both the Byzantine and Islamic world as reflecting a common Romano-Byzantine heritage reinforced by continuing Byzantine and possibly Western European influence.[8]

THE STRAIGHT SINGLE-EDGED "PROTO-SABRE"

Though it is wrong to make simplistic generalisations about the developing technology of weapons, it does seem that the slender, single-edged straight sword came into use before the truly curved single-edged sabre. Such straight "proto-sabres" were common among Central Asian peoples long before they were seen in the Middle East.[9]. On the other

2. J. Cowgill, et al., *Medieval Finds from Excavations in London: 1. Knives and Scabbards* (London 1987), p. 9.
3. D.C. Nicolle, "Arms Production and the Arms Trade in South-Eastern Arabia in the Early Muslim Period," *Journal of Oman Studies* V/2 (1983), pp. 231-8.
4. For a list of ten such swords see: B.J. Overleat, "Contribution to Sasanian Armament in Connection with a Decorated Helmet," *Iranica Antiqua* XVII (1982), pp. 196-7.
5. Al Jāḥiz, *Al Bayān wa'l Tabyīn,* edit. H. al-Sundūbī (Cairo 1947), p. 14; Al Jāḥiz, *Rasā'il al Jāḥiz,* edit. 'Abd al Salām Muḥammad Hārūn (Cairo & Baghdad 1965), p. 26, also trans. by C.T. Harley-Walker, "Jahiz of Basra to Al-Fath ibn Khaqan on the Exploits of the Turks ans the Army of the Khalifate in General," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Oct. 1915), p. 651.
6. J. Schwarzer & E.C. Deal, "A Sword Hilt from the Serçe Liman Shipwreck," *MASCA Journal* IV/2 (Dec. 1986), p. 53.
7. Al Jāḥiz, *Al Bayān..., loc. cit.*

8. Al Kindī, "Al Suyūf wa ajnāsuhā," edit. A.R. Zaki, *Bulletin of the Faculty of Letters, Fouad I University* XIV/2 (1952), pp. 11-12 & 33; Al Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al jamāhir fī ma'rifat al jawāhir,* edit. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad 1936), p. 248; Al Tarṣūṣī, trans. C. Cahen, "Un Traité d'Armurerie Composé pour Saladin," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* XII (1947-8), p. 127; M. Lombard, *Les Métaux dans l'Ancien Monde du Ve au XIe siècle* (Paris 1974), pp. 174-80.
9. A great deal had been written in the Soviet Union in recent years on the archaeology

hand they appear to have reached Byzantium and Iran before the coming of Islam. Such a blade is shown, for example, in the still somewhat mysterious but probably 7th century *Ashburnham Pentateuch* (fig. 35). Thereafter "protosabres" were illustrated with varying degrees of clarity in the arts of both Byzantium and the Muslim world (figs. 15a-c, 21, 57 & 58). The latter two examples are only tentatively identified as they are within their scabbards. Particular caution must be taken with the earlier of the two (fig. 57) as this weapon's hilt is very similar to those of long, slender but double-edged swords from the late Sassanian period.[10] Two surviving weapons might also fall within this category, though both pose problems. One is the so-called sabre of the Prophet Muḥammad (fig. 6a) which has a very slight curve and perhaps the weakest association with its supposed owner. The other is an extraordinary, recently excavated and as yet unpublished sword of truly massive length – approximately 1.8 metres judging from an available photograph. It comes from Aphrodisias in western Anatolia and is only assumed to be single-edged on the basis of apparently differing degrees of corrosion down each side. Even if this huge sword had a purely symbolic or decorative function, its form indicates that such weapons were known at the time it was manufactured. Meanwhile there is little evidence to suggest that Byzantine, Sassanian or Islamic armies had any influence upon each other in the adoption of "proto-sabres". It is to those Central Asian peoples who were caught up in the Great Migrations (5th-7th centuries) that we must look for the diffusion of this design, primarily to the Huns, Avars and Magyars.

THE TRUE CURVED SABRE

How and when the true sabre appeared in Islam and, by extension, among some of Islam's western neighbours, has long been debated. While it may still be true that such weapons were not widespread until the coming of the Saljūk Turks in the 11th century, it now seems reasonably certain that a few sabres were known earlier. There cannot, however, be any doubt that the idea still stemmed from Turco-Mongol Central Asia. In addition to a little known but originally splendid sabre found in a possibly 9th or 10th century context at Nishāpūr (fig. 6c), there exists a slightly

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of medieval Central Asia and the Eurasian steppes, primarily by Yu. S. Khudyakov, N.A. Mazhitov, A.I. Solovjev, A.P. Derevyanko and V.E. Medvedyev. Much of this new material is incorporated into a larger survey by S.A. Pletnyeva, *Stepi Evrazii v Ehpoxu Spednevekovya (The Eurasian Steppes in the Middle Ages)* (Moscow 1981).

10. See Note 4.

later wall painting from the same city (fig. 17a) as well as more debateable written references.[11] Judging by the fragmented remains of a scabbard a true sabre may also have been present among weapons aboard the late 10th-early 11th century Serçe Liman shipwreck.[12] Curved blades do not seem to appear in Byzantine and Mediterranean Christian art until the 12th century onwards (figs. 32a, 41 b-c & 59) and then only in the hands of "infidels". Outside the special circumstances of Hungary, the sabre was nowhere adopted in western Europe until after the Middle Ages while it only seems to have entered the Byzantine armoury in the mid-14th century. Even here it is more likely to have reflected the influence of Turco-Mongol peoples from north of the Black Sea rather than that of the Muslim Ottoman Turks.[13] Thus the non-diffusion of this particular military development across the Byzantine-Islamic frontier is itself worthy of note.

THE SLEEVE OR COLLAR EXTENDING BENEATH A SWORD'S QUILLONS

Only occasionally can a minor feature of hilt design be clearly identified in both the archaeological and artistic evidence. This is, however, the case with a distinctive form of collar that, extending below the quillons or crossguard of a sword, enclosed part of the blade. Its purpose is not clear though it might have served as a form of *ricasso.* This was, in turn, normally associated with a style of fencing in which a swordsman placed his forefinger over one quillon and around one edge of the blade. Dr. A.B. De Hoffmeyer has suggested that such a fencing technique entered Europe from Islam[14] and there is also pictorial evidence to suggest that it was used in pre-Islamic Iran. Such collars are found on surviving Islamic hilts (figs. 3a & 5). They appear in art from the Islamic region from at least the 8th century onwards (figs. 20[uncertain], 46a[uncertain], 47 & 60b[uncertain]), and in more varied forms in Byzantine or strongly Byzantine-influenced art from the 9th century onwards (figs. 34[uncertain], 36a-b & 40). These *ricasso*-collars may, therefore, betray influence from Islam to Byzantium and may

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11. D.C. Nicolle, *The Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era 1050-1350* (New York 1988), *passim.*

12. *Ibid,* pp. 37 & 48-52.

13. J. Schwarzer, in conversation at the *Third International Congress on Greek-Arabic Studies* (Athens 17-20 July 1988).

14. A.B. De Hoffmeyer, "Introduction to the History of the European Sword," *Gladius* I (1961).

have been more readily adopted because the Byzantines employed a similar style of fencing.

THE "D-SHAPED" SWORD-GUARD & ITS ASSOCIATED HILT

Another hilt form that can be found in both art and the archaeological record could be described as having a "D-spread" guard. A fine surviving example comes from the late 10th-early 11th century Serçe Liman shipwreck (fig. 4c). It is made of bronze, the lead of which was almost certainly mined in northern Iran or northern Turkey.[15] Though the decoration of this hilt derives from Indian art of roughly the same period,[16] the basic shape probably finds its closest parallel on an Armenian relief carving of a very similar date (fig. 30). A remarkably similar, and again bronze, grip or hilt was found in a pre-Islamic Arabian site (fig. 4a) while comparisons may be drawn between the pommel of the Serçe Liman hilt and one bearing the name of a 10th century west Iranian Būyid prince (fig. 4b). Other less clear artistic parallels may be found elsewhere in the Middle East, from the pre-Islamic period to the 11th century and beyond (figs. 19, 22, 28[uncertain], 46b, 48a-f & 55[uncertain]). Though most are from Islamic areas or those close to the Muslim frontier, Dr. Schwarzer has offered a strong case in favour of a Romano-Byzantine origin for at least the relatively light sword associated with such hilts.[17] Perhaps the specifically "D-shaped" guard was developed in the central Islamic regions, partially as a result of its suitability to the bronze casting techniques used in all or part of so many Islamic sword-hilts. Here again there seems to have been relatively little Byzantine adoption of this Islamic style, though further archaeological finds could change the picture dramatically.

THE CARRYING OF A SWORD ACROSS A WEARER'S BACK

In the Middle East there are a number of illustrations of swords apparently being worn across a warrior's back. This habit seems to have been even more common in the Far East, particularly in China and Japan, where it was primarily an infantry fashion. Most such Middle Eastern illustrations come from Egypt but date from both the Byzantine and

15. Schwarzer, "A Sword Hilt...," *op. cit.,* pp. 55-6.
16. *Ibid.,* pp. 54-5.
17. *Ibid.,* pp. 52-4; J. Schwarzer, "The 11th century weapons from Serçe Liman," paper delivered at the *Third International Congress on Greek-Arabic Studies* (Athens 17-20 July 1988).

Islamic periods (figs. 23, 44a-b & 45). It also appears in early Islamic Jordan (figs. 11b[uncertain] & 20). Whether these pictures reflected the iconographic influence of Coptic art or represented a truly Arab infantry or camel-mounted military habit remains unclear. A very similar fashion is, however, shown among specifically Arab warriors in the detailed art of 14th century Iran while an identical way of carrying a sword appears in even clearer detail on certain 14th and early 15th century Iranian and perhaps Transoxanian pictures in one of the *Fātiḥ Albums,*[18] I have found no evidence for this habit in strictly Byzantine art.

THE TWO-PIECE OR "RIDGE" HELMET

Helmets of two-piece construction, joined by a strip of metal running fore-and-aft from the brow to the nape of the neck and often including a slightly raised comb, had become standard equipment in the Roman army by the 5th century A.D.[19] A very damaged and unpublished helmet of even simpler construction was found at Hadīthah in Jordan during an uncontrolled excavation (fig. 7a). It seems to have come from an early Byzantine site, perhaps even dating from immediately prior to the Islamic conquest when the Byzantine defences were drawn further north and west than they had been prior to the Sassanian invasion.[20] Such a system of construction certainly survived into early medieval Europe (figs. 7b-e) and may even have influenced a mysterious, unpublished, supposedly early Islamic helmet from Tunisia (fig. 7f). The artistic record strongly suggests that this late Roman style persisted for many centuries in Byzantium (figs. 12, 25, 32b, 38, 42, & 43) and may also have survived in some western Islamic areas (fig. 14[uncertain]). Here, however, it is difficult to separate the true "ridge" helmet from the "Parthian Cap" type.

THE "PARTHIAN CAP" HELMET

The so-called "Parthian Cap" helmet, which had a pointed profile when seen from the front and a parabolic outline when viewed from the

18. *History of the World by Rāshid al Dīn,* Tabriz 1306-14 AD (ex-Royal Asiatic Society, ff. 3r, 7r & 52r); *Fātiḥ Album* (Topkapi Lib., Ms. Haz. 2153, ff. 3v-4r, 138v & 148v, Istanbul, Turkey).
19. S. James, "Evidence from Dura Europos for the Origins of Later Roman Helmets," *Syria* LXIII (1986), pp. 107-34.
20. P. Mayerson, "The First Muslim Attacks on Southern Palestine (A.D. 633-634)," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* XCV (1964), pp. 165 & 179.

side, was perhaps the most characteristic form of Sassanian helmet. It also provided the probable inspiration for the late Roman "ridge" helmet.[21] Some surviving examples have an essentially four-piece framed structure while those with particularly pronounced rivets stem not from north-western Iran, the provenance of most "Parthian Cap" helmets,[22] but from Iraq (fig. 8a). Like a very similar four-framed "Parthian Cap" helmet from Nineveth in the National Museum, Baghdad, its dating is conjectural. Given that an early Islamic date has recently been suggested for an associated but structurally different Iraqi helmet (fig. 8b)[23], might not both come from the post-Sassanian period? Might not the extraordinarily pronounced rivets of these Iraqi helmets be the reality behind the peculiarly spikey outline of a helmet worn by a guard figure on the Qusayr 'Amra wall-paintings (fig. 11a)? There is, after all, artistic evidence for the survival of the parabolic outlined "Parthian Cap" helmet in early Islamic Iran (figs. 29a-b & 54a-b). Similar helmets, with their pendant mail aventails, appear to have been associated with Sassanian Iran in the minds of Byzantine artists as late as the early 7th century. This thesis assumes, however, that S.H. Wander is correct in identifying the "David Plates" from Lampousa as a celebration of Heraclius' victory over the Persian general Razatis on the river Zab in 627 A.D.[24] Helmut Nickl has already pointed out that, on the largest of these plates, Goliath uses a typically Iranian method of hanging a scabbard.[25] Wander, of course, believes that Goliath represents Razatis. What has apparently not yet been noted is that the only figures to wear framed helmets with aventails are those of Goliath's immediate followers (fig. 50e). There is, however, as yet no evidence to suggest that the "Parthian Cap" style of helmet was itself used in Byzantium, either as a result of Sassanian or of early Islamic influence.

THE DIRECTLY RIVETED FRAMELESS SPANGENHELM

This form of helmet, which is generally characterised by a tall and very pointed outline, was of Central Asian origin. Its use spread during the Migration Era and it remained popular throughout much of eastern

21. James, "Evidence from Dura Europos...," *op. cit.,* pp. 113-7, 128 & 131-4.
22. *Ibid.,* pp. 117-20.
23. James, "Evidence from Dura Europos...," *op. cit.,* pp. 118-9.
24. S.H. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates: The Story of David and Goliath," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* VIII (1973), pp. 89-104.
25. H. Nickl, "About the Sword of the Huns and the 'Urepos' of the Steppes," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* VII (1973), p. 131 note 3.

Europe (fig. 8c) until at least the 13th century. A lack of surviving examples from Byzantium and the islamic world makes its use in these regions less clear. One such helmet from Iraq, of mixed bronze and iron construction, may have an early Islamic rather than late Sassanian origin but in either case probably indicates influence from Transoxania or Khurāsān (fig. 8b). This particular example includes vertical reinforcing strips but no brow band and thus does not have a real frame. Pictorial evidence suggests that similar helmets were used in Byzantine areas from at least the 7th century (figs. 51 & 52) while other illustrations show suitably pointed helmets without indicating their vertical segments (figs. 36c & 37a-b). Islamic sources show comparable helmets less frequently and, as far as I can tell, only in those eastern regions closest to Turkestan from whence the style probably orginated (figs. 17b & 33). Perhaps this somewhat primitive form of helmet never achieved wide popularity in the central Byzantine and Islamic lands, remaining an essentially Turkish or Germanic feature associated with tribal or slave recruited troops in frontier regions. It certainly provides no evidence for mutual Byzantine-Islamic technological influence.

THE ONE-PIECE HELMET

The large-scale production of iron helmets forged from a single piece of metal represents a major technological revival during the early medieval period. One-piece iron helmets had been made in Imperial Rome,[26] but their production appears to have lapsed during the later Roman period, perhaps as a result of a need to mass produce simple helmets made by less skilled *fabricenses.*[27] Their reappearance suggests a return to relatively stable and prosperous conditions, perhaps under a new empire. But was this empire the Byzantine, the Muslim or even the Ottonian? So far the evidence seems to point to an early Islamic centre for this revival. One surviving helmet with a single-piece bowl and purely decorative strips laid across is thought to have been made in a western Islamic workshop[28] (fig. &c). However, very much the same idea is seen

26. H.R. Robinson, *The Armour of Imperial Rome* (London 1975), pp. 42-61 & *passim.*
27. S. James, "The Fabricae: State Arms Factories of the Later Roman Empire," in *Military Equipment and the Identity of Roman Soldiers: Proceedings of the Fourth Roman Military Equipment Conference,* edit. J.C. Coulston (BAR International Series 394, Oxford 1988), pp. 257-331.
28. E.A. Gessler, "Der Kalotten-Helm von Chamoson," *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* III (1930), pp. 121-7; D. Hejdová, "Der Sogenannte St.-Wenzels-Helm (part 3)," *Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde* (1968), pp. 16-17.

in a lesser known helmet from Bulgaria (fig. 9a) which may have had a Byzantine origin or derivation. It again has a single-piece bowl with decorative cross-pieces but these are all fastened to a very wide brow-band. The fact that helmets with comparably deep brow-bands have been found in 12th century Moldavia[29] and 13th century Russia[30] might reflect the fuller archaeological record of these areas compared to that of Byzantium. On the other hand Dr. M. Gorelik believes that the broad brow-band type of helmet generally dates from the late 13th-early 14th centuries and displays Mongol influence.[31] To further complicate the issue the remains of a very different but still one-piece helmet of probable K͟hazar origin also survive (fig. 9b), as does a second one-piece helmet from Bulgaria (fig. 9d). This latter specimen is so unusual and in many respects so advanced in both form and construction that a 14th century European origin might be proposed instead of the published 9th or 10th century Byzantine date.[32] Meanwhile pictorial sources can only hint at the existence of such one-piece helmets (figs. 16, 36c, 37a-b, 39, 41a & 60b).

THE ONE-PIECE HELMET WITH FORWARD-TILTED CROWN

During the 12th century a distinctive development of the true one-piece helmet became widespread in western Europe. This had its pointed crown slightly tilted forwards, probably as a result of leaving the front portion of the bowl thicker than the sides and rear during the forging process. Such a style was so typical of 12th century westerners that it appears to have been used as an identifying feature in a small Fāṭimid drawing showing combat between Muslims and Crusaders (fig. 49). A few other pictorial sources suggest, however, that this form of helmet had been known in Byzantium and the Muslim world at an earlier date (figs. 18, 31 & 36d). The earliest of these (fig. 36d) may show a cap being worn over an ordinary helmet while there is some evidence for the forward-tilted crown also being known in 11th century western Europe, for example in the Bayeux Tapestry. Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe that the style emerged in Byzantium and could be linked with the development of close-rank, couched-lance cavalry tactics with their associated long kite-shaped shields, tall saddles and relatively straight-legged riding position. This occurred under Nicephoros Phocas in the 10th century.[33]

THE WEARING OF A CAP OR HOOD OVER A HELMET

One fashion that could certainly show Islamic or eastern influence upon Byzantine military styles would be the wearing or a cap or hood over a helmet, as there is no evidence for this fashion in the preceding Roman period. The *bas͟hliq* cap (fig. 24) of felt or leather had been an aristocratic form of headgear in the Iranian world since at least the 3rd century BC, the addition of a diadem being a mark of royalty. Certain elements of this headgear clearly survived into the late Sassanian era[34] (figs. 26a-b). A comparable cap was found in an 8th-9th century grave on the northern slopes of the Caucasus (fig. 10). Such headgear may, perhaps, provide an explanation of certain pictorial and sculptural sources from the early Islamic era (figs. 14, 27a, 30[uncertain], 53 & 56) though it is also clear that looser headcloths in essentially Arab style were also worn (figs. 11a, 13, 20[uncertain] & 30[uncertain]). More remarkable is the possibility that some peculiarly elaborate or neck-covering supposed helmets in Byzantine art could, in fact, be based upon caps or headcloths, either worn over helmets or worn alone (figs. 36c-d, 38, 41d, 42, 50c-d & 60a-b). Since these include representative of both "good" and "infidel" figures, one may tentatively suggest that here at least is an example of the Byzantine military élite adopting fashions from their eastern foes, both Sassanian and Islamic.

DAVID NICOLLE

29. From Vatra Moldovitei-"Hurghişca", in V. Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th-14th centuries* (Bucharest 1986), p. 244.

30. Provenance unknown, in Moscow State History Museum, *The Battle of Kulikovo: 600 years* (Moscow 1980), fig. 13.

31. Dr. M.V. Gorelik in private correspondence 1987.

32. Hejdová, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

33. D.C. Nicolle, "The Impact of the European Couched Lance on Muslim Military Tradition," *Journal of the Arms and Armour Society* X (1980), pp. 11-12.

34. Overlaet, *op. cit.*, pp. 191-2.

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. a – Iron dagger with iron guard found on victim of 747 AD earthquake at Pella, Umāyyad, Jordan (R.H. Smith, "Pella of the Decapolis", *Archaeology* XXXIV/5 Sept.-Oct. 1981); b-c – iron daggers, one with a bronze guard, from Hadīthah on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, Romano-Byzantine c. 324-635 AD (Castle Museum, Karak, Jordan).

2. a – Remains of double-edged straight iron sword from Nishāpūr, 9-10 century, width approx. 6 cms. (Archaeological Museum, Tehran, Iran); b – Sword attributed to the Khalīf 'Alī (656-661 AD) with later hilt (Topkapi Museum Reliquary, Istanbul, Turkey); c – Sword attributed to Zayn al 'Abidīn (early 8 century) with later hilt (Topkapi Museum Reliquary, Istanbul, Turkey); d – Sword excavated in Oman, possibly Sassanian or early Islamic (drawing after Carl Philips, present whereabouts unknown); e – Sword from shipwreck of Islamic North African origin off Agay, southern France, 10 century (after A.G. Visquis, "Présence Sarrazine en rade d'Agay au Xme Siècle", *Rencontre d'Archéologie Sous-Marine de Fréjus, Saint-Raphael,* St. Raphael 1975 (Mus. of Underwater Archaeology, St. Raphael, France).

3. Weapons fragments from al-Rabadhah, central Arabia 8-9 century; a – iron sword-guard, blade width 6.1 cms.; b – iron chape, width 3.2 cms.; c – iron chape or sheath, length 22.5 cms. (Dept. of Archaeology, King Sa'ūd Univ., Riyadh, Saudi Arabia).

4. a – Bronze sword-grip from *Qaryat al-Fau: A Portrait of Pre-Islamic Civilization in Saudi Arabia,* London 1982); b – Sword pommel inscribed with name of the Buyid Prince Abī'l Ghanā'im Manṣūr Billāh, western Iran 10 century (exhibited at Sprinks Gallery, London, April 1977; present whereabouts unknown); c – Bronze sword hilt from Islamic (?) ship-wreck off Serçe Liman shown here with calcium carbonate encrustation and scabbard fragments removed, probably Armenia or western Iran, late 10-early 11 century (Castle Museum, Bodrum, Turkey).

5. Bronze sword-guard and pommel inscribed with Sura 112 of the Qur'ān, probably from Fāṭimid Egypt 9-10 century (Louvre Museum, Paris, France).

6. a – Sabre attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad, probably of Central Asian or Avar origin (Topkapi Museum Reliquary, Istanbul, Turkey); b – Oversized single-edged sword from Aphrodisias, perhaps symbolic, Byzantine, Avar or Sassanian origin late 6-early 7 century (Aphrodisias Site Museum, Turkey); c – Sabre from Nishāpūr, Turkish or Khurāsāni 9-11 century (Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 40.170.168, New York, USA).

7. a – Iron helmet from Hadīthah on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, Romano-Byzantine c. 324-635 AD (Castle Museum, Karak, Jordan); b – Helmet from St. Vid (Narona), late Roman or barbarian 4-5 century (Waffensammlung, St. Vid no. 3, Vienna, Austria); c – Helmet from Prag-Stromovká, Slav or Germanic 7-8 century (Historical Institute, National Museum, Prague, Czechoslovakia); d – Helmet from Prag-Stromovká, Slav or Germanic 7-8 century (Historical Institute, National Museum, Prague, Czechoslovakia); e – Helmet from Gnezdovo, Russian 10 century (State Historical Museum, Gnezdovo No. 1, Moscow USSR); f – Helmet from central Tunisia Fāṭimid 10-11 century (?) (after M. Brett, Local Museum, Kayrawan, Tunisia).

8. a – Copper or bronze-covered bronze and iron helmet from Niveneh, Sassanian 6-early 7 century (British Museum, no. 22497, London, England); b – Copper or bronze-covered bronze and iron helmet from Nineveh, late Sassanian or early Islamic, 7-8 century (British Museum, no. 22495, London, England); c – Iron helmet with decorative copper fillets, Magyar-Hungarian 10-11 century (Archaeological Museum, Pécs, Hungary).

9. a – Iron helmet with broad rim-band and decorative strips across one-piece bowl, from Yasenovo, Bulgar or Byzantine 9-10 century (Archaeological Museum, inv. 200, Kazanlik, Bulgaria); b – Helmet from Murakaevskiye gravesite, southern Urals region, Khazar-Bulgar-Madjarian style 10-11 century (after M.V. Gorelik: also N.A. Mazhitov, *Kurgani Yuzhnogo Urala VIII-XII v.v.,* Moscow 1981); c – Helmet of possible Islamic origin, 9 century (?) (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich, Switzerland); d – One -piece iron helmet with small brow-piece, from Ozana, Byzantine 9-10 century or Bulgarian 14 century (Archaeological Museum, inv. 199, Kazanlik, Bulgaria).

10. Silk-covered leather hood with metal finial from tomb at Moshchevaya Balka, northern Caucasus, Alano-Saltowe 8-9 century (Ethnographical Museum, Moscow, USSR).

11. Wall paintings, Umāyyad c. 740 AD *(in situ* audience-hall, Qusayr 'Amra, Jordan); a – "Guard figures, probably representing infantry" in audience hall; b – unidentified figure on central vault; c-e – "Slaughter of deer or onager following a hunt" in audience-hall.

12. "Martyrdom scene", Italo-Byzantine early 7 century *(in situ* Santa Maria Antiqua, Rome, Italy).

13. "Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter", wall painting, Coptic 7-8 century *(in situ* Church of Bema, Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, Egypt).

14. "Archangel Michael", wall painting from Faras Cathedral, Nubian c. 710 AD (National Museum, no. 234038MN, Warsaw, Poland).

15. Group of "Forty Martyrs", wall painting, Byzantine 963-969 AD *(in situ* "Dovecote Church", Çavusin, Cappadocia, Turkey).

16. "Joshua", wall painting, Byzantine 10 century *(in situ* Monastery of Hosios Loukas, Greece).

17. Wall paintings from Nis͟hāpūr, eastern Iran 10 century (a – Archaeological Mus., Tehran, Iran; b – Met. Mus. of Art, New York, USA).

18. "Soldiers at the Crucifixion", wall painting, Byzantine 10-mid-11 century *(in situ* Pürenli Seki Kilisesi, Peristrema valley, Cappadocia, Turkey).

19. Sword of "Archangel Michael", wall painting, Georgian 1096 AD *(in situ* church, Iprari, USSR).

20. "Town Governor" (?), tesserae of figure removed and jumbled during an iconoclastic reform, 'Abbāsid period Christian mosaic late 8-early 9 century *(in situ* Church of St. Stephan, Umm al Raṣāṣ, Jordan).

21. Lustre-ware dish from Nis͟hāpūr, eastern Iran 10 century (Museum of Oriental Art, inv. 2629/3258, Rome, Italy).

22. "Nergal" god of the underworld, bas-relief from Hatra, northern Iraq 2 century (National Museum, Baghdad, Iraq).

23. Figurine, Coptic 3-4 century (Coptic Mus., inv. 7286, Cairo, Egypt).

24. Statue of "King Ut͟hal of Hatra", from Hatra 1 century (Archaeological Museum, no. MM8, Mosul, Iraq).

25. Bas-relief carving from Rus͟haydah area, probably G͟hassānid 6-7 century (Local Museum, Suwayda, Syria).

26. Rock-reliefs, Sassanian 224-272 AD *(in situ* Naqs͟h-i-Rustam, Iran); a – "Ardas͟hir I"; b – "Retainers of S͟hāpūr I".

27. Stucco statuettes from K͟hirbat al Mafjir, Umāyyad 724-743 AD (Palestine Archaeological Museum, east Jerusalem, Palestine); a – "Guards"; b – "The K͟halīf (?)".

28. "Mounted Saint", bas-relief, Georgian mid-11 century *(in situ* church, Nicorzminda, USSR).

29. a – Stucco relief, Iran late 7-8 century (Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 40.58, New York, USA); b – Stucco relief from C͟hal Tark͟hān near Rayy, western Iran late 7-8 century (Royal Ontario Museum, no. 946.104.1-5, Toronto, Canada).

30. "Goliath", relief carving, early 10 century Armenian *(in situ* Church of Gagik, Aght'amar, Lake Van, Turkey).

31. "Caravan guard" on carved wooden panel, originally from Fāṭimid K͟halīfal Palace doors, Cairo 11-early 12 century (Museum of Islamic Art, Cairo, Egypt).

32. Carved capitals, Siculo-Norman late 12 century *(in situ* Cloisters, Monreale Cathedral, Italy); a – "Moor"; b – "Sleeping Guards at Holy Sepulchre".

33. Ceramic plate from Nis͟hāpūr, eastern Iran 10 century (Coll. of Sayid Motamed, Frankfurt, West Germany).

34. Carved wooden door lintel from Monastery of the Holy Apostles at Mouch, near Ahlat, Armenian 1134 AD (Mus. of Armenian History, Yerevan, USSR).

35. Sword of "Angel of Death", *Ashburnham Pentateuch,* Egypt or North Africa 7 century (Bib. Nat., Ms. Nouv. Acq. Lat. 2334 f. 65v, Paris, France).

36. Manuscript of *St. Gregory of Nazianzus,* Byzantine c. 880 AD (Bib. Nat., Ms. Gr. 510, Paris, France); a – f. 137r, "Massacre of the Innocents"; b – f. 215v, "Judgement of Solomon"; c – f. 170r, "Soldiers of Jairus, a ruler of the synagogue"; d – f. 226v, "Joshua; Angel appears to Moses and Joshua".

37. *Psalter,* Byzantine 9 century (Monastery of the Pantocrator, Ms. No. 61, Mt. Athos, Greece); a – f. 89r, "Bribing of Guards at Garden of Gethsemane", b – f. 109r, "Guards at the Holy Sepulchre".

38. "Philistines seizing Samson", *Bible,* Byzantine 9 century (Bib. Nat., Cod. Gr. 923, f. 107v, Paris, France).

39. "Israelite; David fighting Goliath", *Psalter,* Byzantine 10 century (Bib. Nat., Ms. Gr. 139, f. 4v, Paris, France).

40. "Massacre of the Innocents", *Studite Psalter,* Byzantine 1066 AD (Ms. Add. 19352, f. 123, London, England).

41. "Goliath" (?), *Smyrna Octateuch,* Byzantine late 10-11 century (Bib. Vat., Cod. Gr. 746, Rome, Italy); a – f. 471v, "Goliath" (?); b – f. 469v, "Jebusite defenders of Jerusalem"; c – f. 354r, "Sword of an angel"; d – f. 469v, "Jews besiege Jerusalem".

42. "Emperor's Protospathius", *Exultet Roll,* southern Italian 12 century (Bib. Casanatense, Ms. 724.B.1.13, Rome, Italy).

43. "Pharoah's Army", *Exultet Roll* from Gaeta, southern Italian 11 century (Cathedral Archives, Roll 2, Gaeta, Italy).

44. *Homilies* possibly from Monastery of St. Anthony in the Desert, Coptic 9-10 century (Vat. Lib., Ms. Copt. 66, f. 287v, Rome, Italy); a – f. 287v, "St. Mercurius, Abu'l Sufayn"; b – f. 194v, "St. Theodore".

45. "St. Theodore". *Synaxary,* from Touton, Fayūm, Coptic 10 century (Pierpont Morgan Lib., Ms. 613, f. 1v, New York, USA).

46. *Kitāb al Kawākib al Ṣufār,* 'Abbāsid Iraq or Fāṭimid Egypt 1009 AD (Bodleian Lib., Ms. Marsh 144, Oxford, England), a – ff. 325-6, unidentified figure; b – ff. 110-111, "Perseus".

47. "Perseus", *Kitāb al Kawākib al Ṣufār,* probably Fāṭimid Egypt 1130/31 AD (Topkapi Lib., Ms. Ahmet III 3493, f. 30r, Istanbul, Turkey).

48. *Gospels* from Dumyat, Coptic 1179/80 AD (Bib. Nat., Ms. Copt. 13, Paris, France); a – f. 79r, "The Betrayal"; b – f. 131r, "One of Pilate's guards"; c – f. 103r "Execution of John the Baptist"; d – f. 6v "Massacre of the Innocents"; e – f. 40v "Beheading of John the Baptist"; f – f. 79r "The Betrayal".

49. "Falling Crusader in picture of Muslim troops emerging from gate ('Asqalan?) to defeat European warriors (Crusaders?)," painted paper fragment from Fustat, Fāṭimid 12 century (British Museum, Dept. of Oriental Antiquities, London, England).

50. *The David Plates* from Lampousa, Cyprus, Byzantine 613-630 AD (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA); a – "Sword of Goliath"; b – "Annointing of David"; c – "David puts on Saul's armour"; d – "Goliath"; e – "Philistines".

51. Gilded browplate of helmet, 7 century Lombardic or Italo-Byzantine (Bargello Museum, Florence, Italy).

52. *Isola Rizza Dish,* repousé silver, late 6-7 century Italo-Byzantine (Castelvecchio Museum, Verona, Italy).

53. "Horsemen besieging a castle", silver repoussé dish from Malo-Amkovaya near Perm, Transoxania or Semireçye 9-10 century (Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, USSR).

54. Coin of Yazīd Ibn al Muhallab, Curgan early 8 century (American Numismatic Society Coll., New York, USA); a – reverse; b – obverse.

55. Pendant of gold necklace, Iran 10 century (Art Museum, Cincinnati, USA).

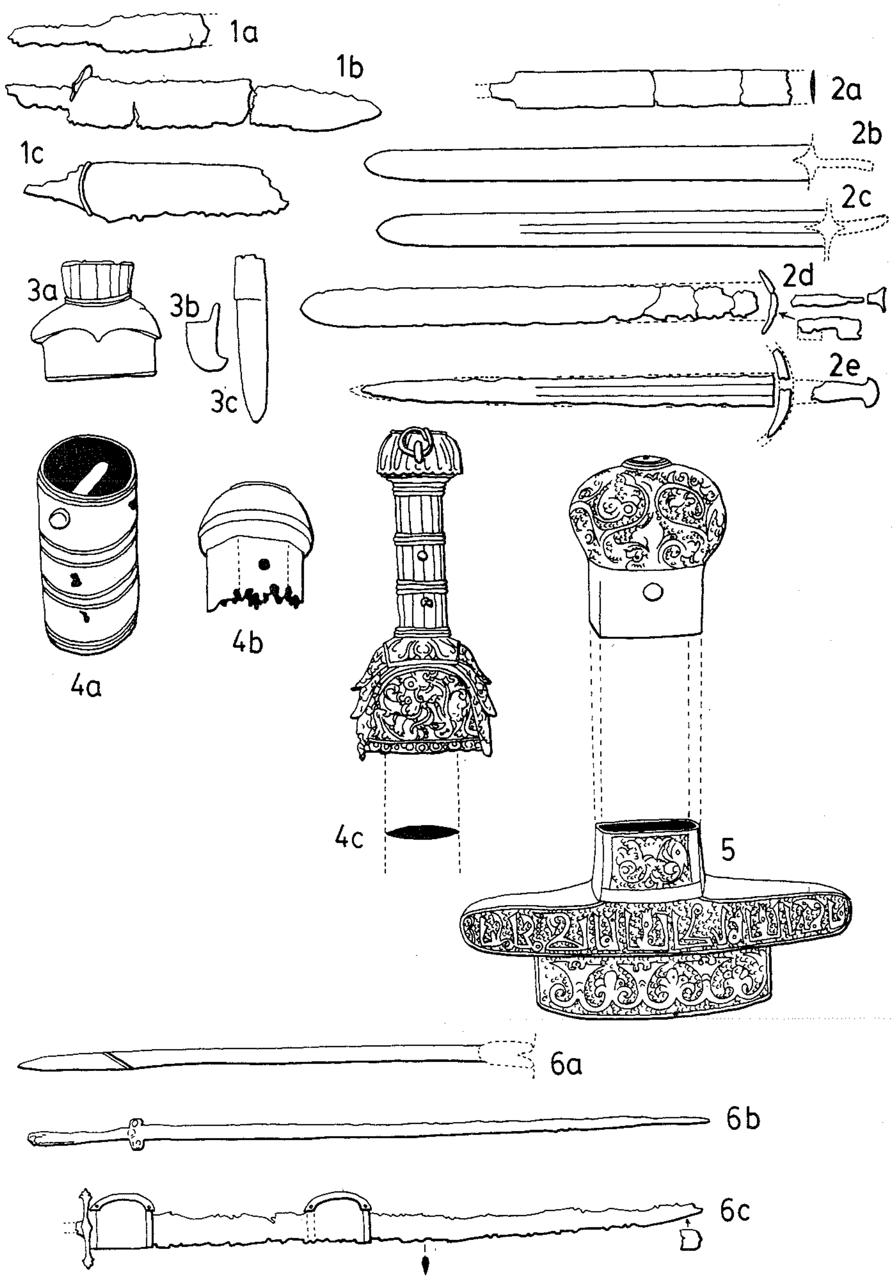
56. Coin of Khalīf al Muqtadir Billāh, 'Abbāsid Iraq 908-932 AD (National Museum, Baghdad, Iraq).

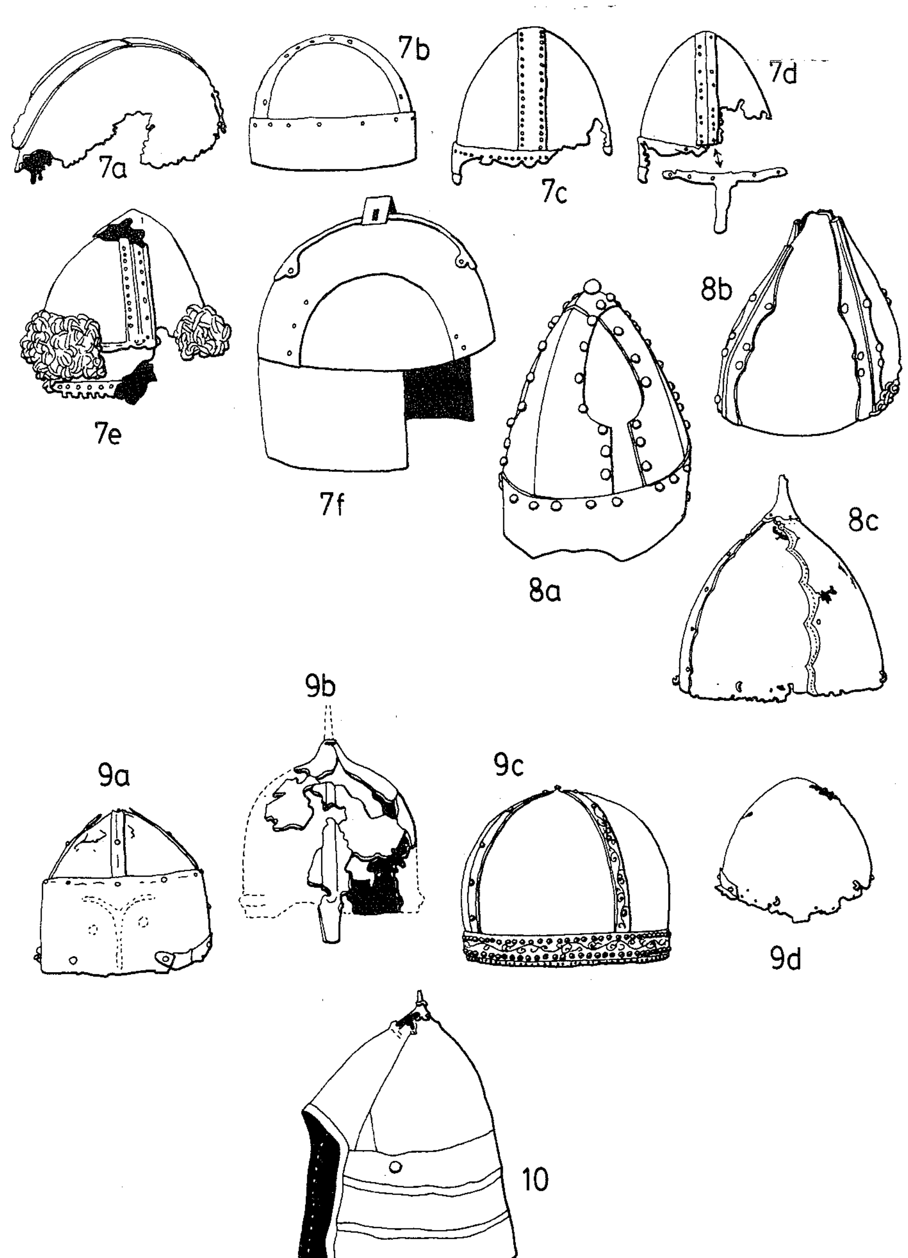
57. Silver-gilt repoussée dish inscribed with name Puri Vahman (Persian from Arabic Ibn Raḥmān?), probably from eastern Iran 8-9 century (Hermitage Museum, Leningrad, USSR).

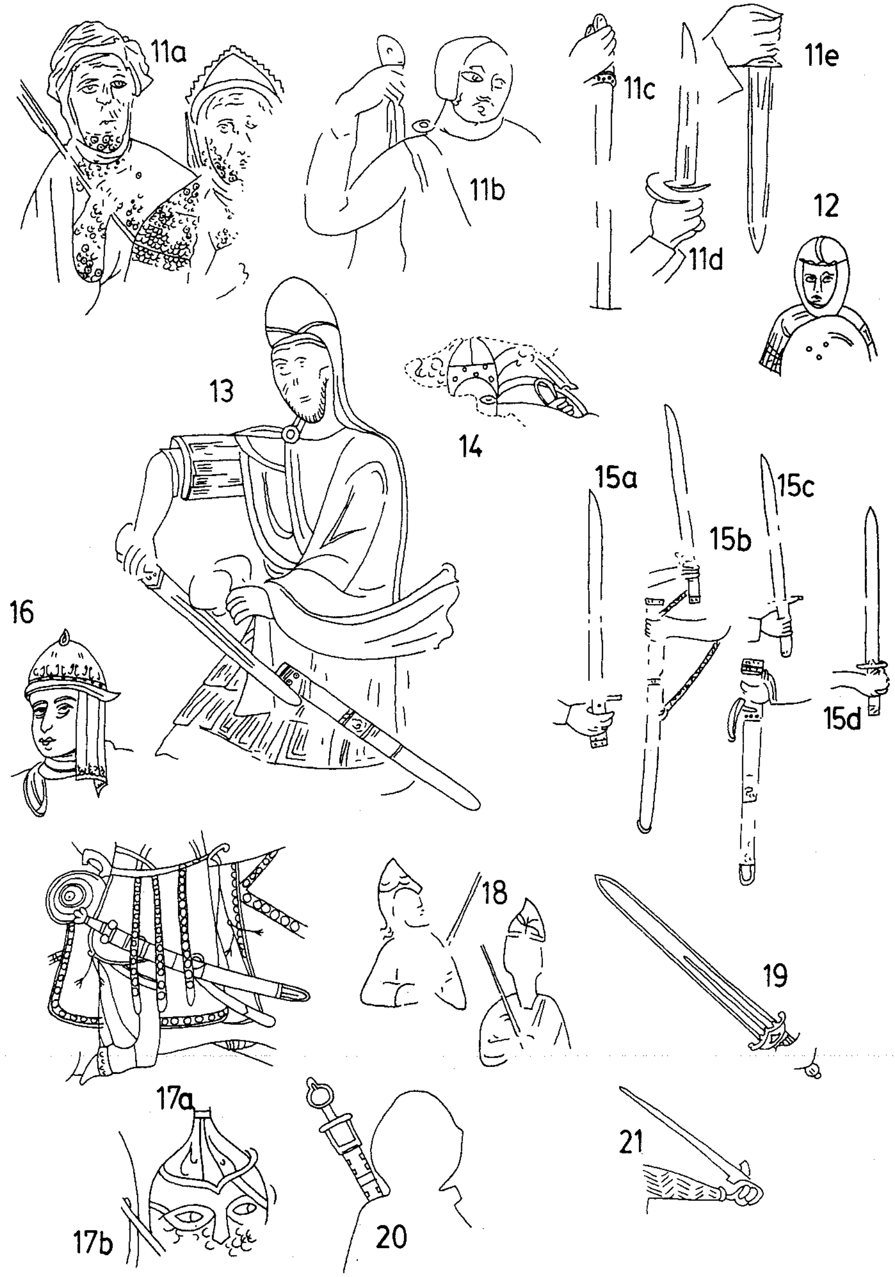
58. Reverse of gold medal of Būyid Prince, probably 'Adūd al Dawla, western Iran late 10 century (Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, USA).

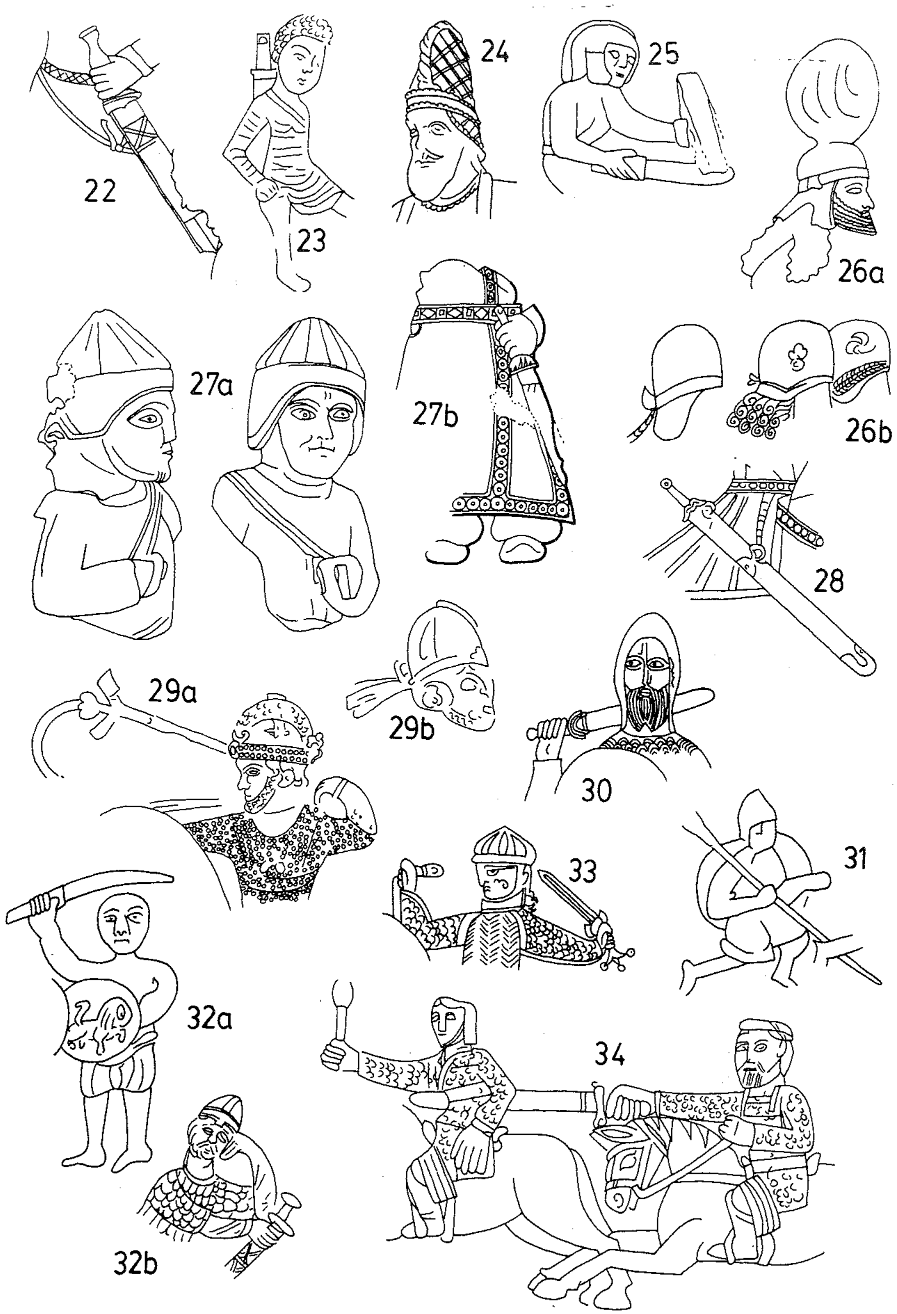
59. "Sword of slain Diocletian", *Icon of St. George* from Seti, Georgian 11 century copy of 10 century original (Local Museum, Mestia, USSR).

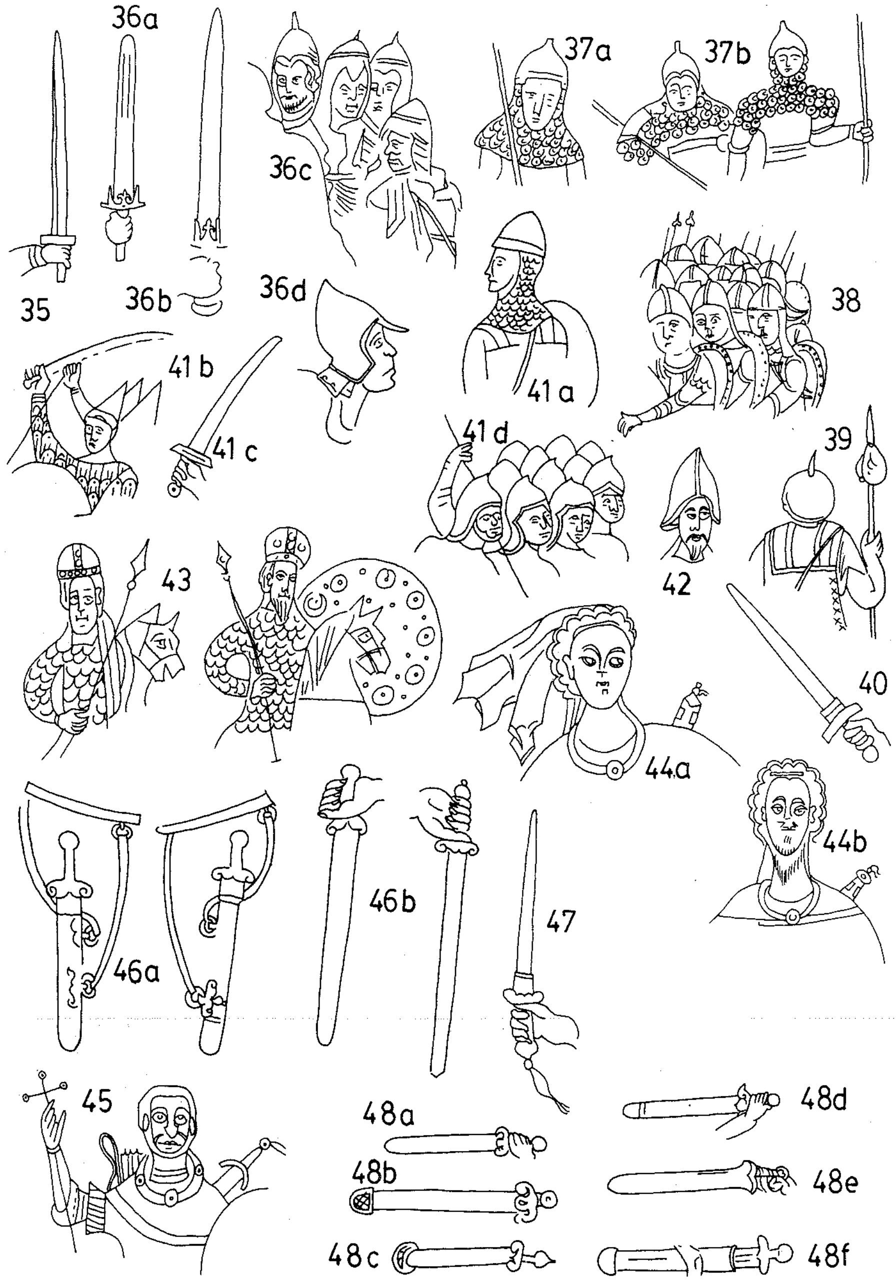
60. Ivory chess-pieces from so-called *Charlemagne's Chess Set,* southern Italy or Fāṭimid Egypt 11-12 century (Cab. des Medailles, Bib. Nationale, Paris, France).

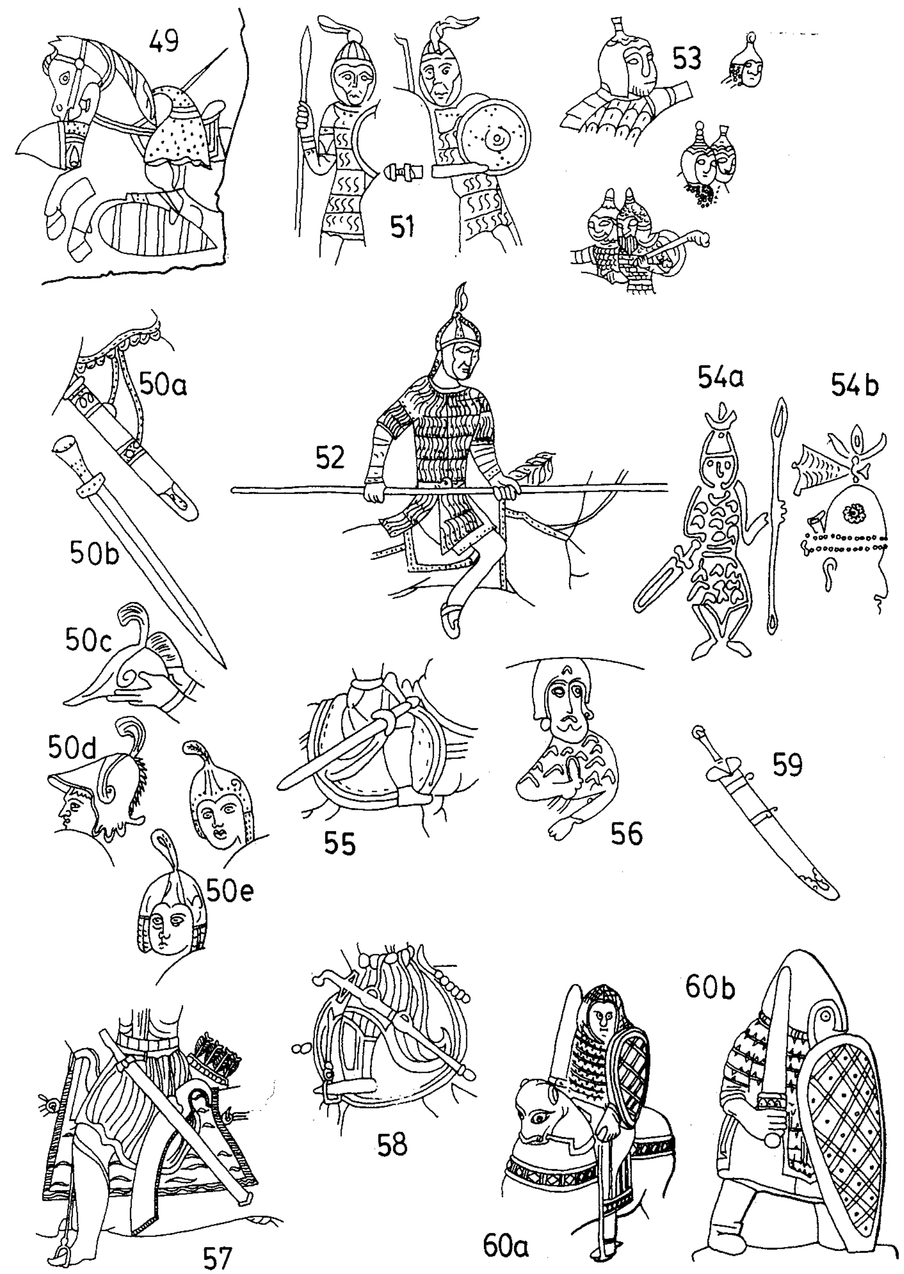

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Group of "Forty Martyrs" painted in the *Dovecote Church* at Cavusin, Cappadocia (963-969 AD). Note three different types of sword.



"Guard figures", probably representing Arab infantry, painted in the audience hall at Qusayr 'Amra, Jordan (c. 740 AD). Note the spikey outline of the right-hand figure's helmet.

Arms From An Eleventh Century Shipwreck

Assembled in the early eleventh century A.D. and preserved in an undisturbed archaeological context, the armament recovered from the medieval shipwreck at Serce Limani is an important and unique discovery. Aside from resulting in more precise chronological and typological controls for the study of medieval weapons as a whole, comprehensive analysis of these finds should yield new insights into patterns of trade, general economic systems, and dynamics of technonological and artistic diffusion.

Serce Limani (figure 1) is a small, natural harbor on the southern coast of Turkey directly across from Rhodes. Today, as in antiquity, it serves as a temporary anchorage for passing ships. Hellenistic, Roman, and Medieval remains extend from ancient sites of small villages to the very floor of the harbor where they are inadvertantly discovered by sponge divers.

In 1973, a retired sponge diver, Mehmet Askin, led a research team from the Institute of nautical Archaeology to the site of an eleventh century A.D. shipwreck at Serce Limani. Excavation began four years later and continued over the next two summers. Portions of the rigging, sections from the portside and bottom of the hull, and thousands of other artifacts were recovered from the site. Over eighty intact glass vessels and a total of forty-three glazed terra cotta bowls were found in the bow and stern. Six "Y-shaped" anchors were raised from the bow and, in all, one hundred and eight amphoras were recovered from areas forward and aft of amidships. Gaming pieces, weapons, weights and coins were found in the stern. Since 1979, attention has been directed toward analysis of the remains of the ship, its stores, and cargo.

Byzantine coins of Basil II and glass weights from the reigns of al-Hakim and al-Zahir have provided a *Terminus ante quem* for the site of A.D. 1025. However, the assemblage as a whole is so complex that the

nationality of ship and crew remains problematical. Although amphoras, pantry wares, and fish net weights bearing Greek letters or Christian symbols indicate a Byzantine source, anchors, glazed bowls, and glass weights suggest an equally viable Muslim origin. Similarly, the intact glass jars, bottles, and tumblers (some with abstract figural representations) and more than half a million glass sherds are essentially Islamic in design but could have been made in a number of ports during this period.[1]

In addition to the glass, which constitutes one of the largest collections of its kind in the world, various metal objects were raised from the site. Those made of lead or bronze were in a relatively good state of preservation. However, in most instances, those made of iron had simply dissolved. The process used in the treatment of these "dissolved" objects is particularly relevant and requires further explanation.

As iron oxidizes in sea water, an electrolytic reaction occurs and a rock hard shell of calcium carbonate is deposited around the object. Eventually, most of the metal rusts away leaving a cavity which corresponds exactly to the dimensions of the original artifact and which retains a micro-thin layer of the actual iron surface. Following recovery and desalinization, these concretions (essentially negative molds) are broken into segments, the interior surfaces are carefully cleaned, the sections are glued back together and the cavity is filled with liquid epoxy. The epoxy bonds with the remains of the metallic surface and hardens. Using pneumatic tools, the calcium carbonate shell is then removed leaving a plastic fascimile of the object.[2] Since 1981, this process has been used to reconstruct all the anchors, thirty tools, hundreds of nails, chain link, and over sixty weapons. It is these weapons which are the focus of this study.

The total number of arms recovered from thw site includes fifty javelins, twelve spears, one axe, and fragments of two or three swords, the most enigmatic of which has a broken blade and a sculpted bronze hilt. Of the sixty-two pole arms from Serce Limani, there are at least ten distinct variations two of which have never before been recorded in any Western medieval context. Observations made in the course of conservation indicate the total ensemble may have been divided into specific units ranging from pairs of javelins to groups including one or two spears and four to seven javelins.

1. George F. Bass, "A Medieval Islamic Merchant Venture" paper presented at the symposium on ancient trade, Columbia, North Carolina, 1979 (typewritten); George F. Bass and Frederick H. van Doorninck Jr., "AN 11th Century Shipwreck at Serce Limani, Turkey", *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 7.2 (May 1978): 119-132; Frederick H. van Doorninck Jr., "The Serce Liman Glass Wreck", 1979, (typewritten); George F. Bass, "The Nature of the Serce Limani Glass", *Journal of Glass Studies* 26 (1984): 64-69.

2. The process was developed by Frederick H. van Doorninck Jr. and his father in 1980.

The javelins (figure 2) are relatively unexciting and, with a single exception, reflect little of the armourer's skill. Essentially, they are rough, rectangular iron bars, square in section, tapering to a point on one end. The other end is flattened out into something of a triangle, rolled to form a hafting socket, and fixed to a wooden shaft with a single square nail at the socket base. In two instances, substantial lengths of shaft remain. One of these is clearly more of a boat hook than a throwing spear but, in either case, the shafts do not appear to have been longer than two meters. Parallels for these types of javelins are all too available. They are known from Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Africa, and Italy and range in date from the ninth through the fifteenth century.

The one fine example, GW 934 (figure 3), is without parallel. The elongated blade is diamond shaped in section, swells to a flared base, and narrows again to a cylindrical socket. There is no trace of forging seams and it appears to have been hafted without the use of a nail. Moreover, there are traces of geometric decoration; cross hatching at the widest part of the blade, and lightly inscribed bands around the socket.

Of the larger spears from the site, four (figure 4) have long, thin blades and wide conical sockets. The type was common to East and West during this period and, as a group, these examples from a graded set ranging from 29.5 cm. to 92 cm. in length. Similarly, three flanged or winged spears (so called because of the projections on each side of the socket, see figure 5) may comprise a second graded set with lengths varying from 45 cm. to 58.5 cm. Due to their distinctive design, it is possible to suggest geographic origins for two examples. The first GW 959, is almost identical in style and proportions to types known from 10th century central Europe. The second, GW 958, with stubby socket, thin wings, and javelin-like point is identical to contemporary examples found in Central Europe and Bulgaria.[3]

The shaft length of these larger spears is more difficult to ascertain. Judging by the average thickness of remaining wood, 2.5 cm., shafts could have been several meters long. However, as these were not for

3. David C. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era 1050–1350,* vols. 1 and 2 (White Plains, New York: Kraus International Publications, 1988) pp. 417-418, 526-530, 853, and 930.

throwing, the idea of wielding such lengths in the close quarters of a ship verges on the ludicrous. Either they were intended for use off the ship or, if for on board use, a total length (shaft and spear head) probably would not have exceeded a meter and a half.

Of the two axes (figure 6) recovered from the site, one, GW 1135, certainly appears to be more of a weapon than a tool. The overall design and the massive "T" shaped hafting socket are very similar to those of an eleventh century war axe from Cozanesti, Moldavia.[4] Moreover, the presence of what may be an armor's mark on the broad face of the blade (figure 7) would tend to support such an identification. In this regard, it is interesting to note that similar marks have been found on weapons excavated near Varna in Bulgaria.[5] Nevertheless, as axes were desirable trade items and often served a dual purpose, the exact role of the axe from Serce Limani may be difficult to determine.

Other objects from the assemblage are truly unique. A massive spear head, GW 1002, was found sheathed in a wooden scabbard (figure 8). Although it resembles the spear represented on the right panel of the ivory diptych from Monza Cathedral and some of those shown in relief on the base of the Theodosian obelisk in Istanbul, no other extant examples are known. Similarly, a hafted spike, GW 983, (figure 9) is without parallel. It may be the remains of a parasol or standard, the iron rings carrying streamers or suspending a larger support ring for the fabric of a parasol. The javelin-like shaft was probably not meant to be seen and was used to fix a device... perhaps a golden apple or ball similar to that described in the *Gesta Francorum* as belonging to the Fatimid Amir at the battle of Asqalan in 1099.[6] If so, both these objects may be standards of authority or rank.

The edged weapons from Serce Limani present a very different problem. The remains of these weapons are so fragmentary, it is quite difficult to determine the exact number of swords which were on board. Although none of the blades and only one bronze hilt survived, the concreted remains of scabbards indicate there were at least two or three swords on the ship. Clearly, two of the blades were straight and double edged. How-

4. Idem, *Hungary and the Fall of eastern Europe,* Men-at-Arms Series (London: Osprey Publishing Ltd, 1988) p. 8.

5. Hristo Kolarov, "La chronique de callimaque – une source de la bataille de Varna de 1444", *Bulletin du Musee National de Varna* IX/XXIV (1973) pp. 241-254. I am indebted to Margaret Cowin and George F. Bass for calling my attention to this source.

6. David C. Nicolle, *Early Medieval Islamic Arms and Armour,* (Caseres, Spain: Instituto de Estudios Sobre Armas Antiguas, 1976) p. 144.

ever, the remains of a third suggest a curved blade. If so, this would be one of the earliest of its type yet discovered in a western Medieval context.

The bronze hilt (figure 10) recovered from the site in 1977, was somewhat removed from the main archaeological concentration. Nevertheless, its location among amphoras, wood, and glass clearly attest to its association with the site.[7] Preliminary cleaning and susequent study revealed specific aspects of its structure and decoration which are relatively unique in eleventh century Western artistic traditions. It is an exceptional find requiring precise morphological and iconographical analysis.

The apex of the hilt is marked by a broad mushroom-shaped pommel, the fluted surface of which is interrupted only at mid-point of its vertical plane by an integrally cast, perpendicularly aligned lanyard ring. The pommel terminates in a recessed section of cavetto-molding which tapers to the grip. The grip is polygonally circular in section and its junction with the pommel is circumscribed by a narrow band formed by three superimposed rings. Two similar bands divide the total grip length into thirds, and a fourth band marks the juncture of grip and guard. A rectangular cowl spreads over the middle of the engaged quillons which curve down and out to fashion the flanged arch of the guard. On each side of the hilt, the interior arc of the quillons defines a lunette which is closed by a narrow band of bead molding. Each lunette is embellished, at its center, by a rondelle containing an openwork representation of an ornately plummed bird, and, at its corners, by floral designs similar to those on the quillons and cowl. The blade was hafted with a single through-rivet in each of the two lower grip divisions and has completely disintegrated.

The large pommel, compartmentalized grip, and arched, "cuffed" guard which characterize the overall shape of the hilt are design elements which denote a close affiliation with earlier Roman types. Among numerous depictions from the first through the fifth centuries A.D. those from the tomb of Titus Flavius Bassus in Cologne (figure 11) and a fragment of an ivory plaque found in Alexandria (figure 12), clearly suggest a common philosophy of construction and use. The same style weapon may be held by the figure of Goliath in the 10th century sculpture from Aght'amar in Turkey. It is also protrayed on the back panel of al Malik ibn al Mansur's ivory casket dated by inscription to A.D. 1004/5; at the side

7. Interview with George F. Bass, Institute of Nautical Archaeology, Bryan-College Station, Texas, 10th May 1979. The exact location of the find is grid P-6, upper right and lower right quadrants.

of the mounted saint portrayed on the tympanum of the West portal of the eleventh century Church at Nicorzminda, Georgia; and on the front panel of the eleventh century Troyes casket (figure 13). Further, six swords on display at the military museum in Istanbul may belong to this type and, of the six, one dating from the 13th (figure 14) and two from the 17th century (figures 15 and 16) are, for all practical purposes identical to the example from Serce Limani. Thus, aside from establishing the remarkable longevity of the "cuffed guard" type, morphological evidence indicates the bronze hilt was produced in the West by a Byzantine or Muslim craftsman. Nevertheless, despite research by Ettinghausen, Alexander, Hoffmeyer, Nicolle, Selimkhanov, and Unusov, the exact source and development of this hilt form is not clearly understood.[8]

This situation is made more complex in light of the decorative motifs which adorn this hilt (figure 10). The flanged quillons and winding foliate designs clearly reflect an oriental aesthetic. Yet, the most striking element of decoration is the representation, on both sides of the guard, of a fantastic bird. A comparison of this image with a mid 8th century A.D. relief from the north wall of the Virupaksa Temple at Pattadakal (figure 17), and with the 12th century frieze from the Hoysalesvara Temple in Halebid (figure 18) demostrates its Indian origin. The representatives unquestionably depict a hamsa, a mythical Indian bird which symbolizes a number of significant attributes. According to Hindu belief, the hamsa incorporates characteristics of several aquatic fowl (especially the swan and the goose). At home on the water and in the air, it represents the essence of corporeal and spiritual existence. It is capable of separating spirit from matter and is totally free from all earthly bondage. Further, the hamsa is credited with perpetual vigilance and, when portrayed as possessing two neck feathers, is emblematic of learning. Similarly, in Christian, Jewish, and Islamic traditions the "winged soul", signifying spiritual rather than physical life, is often represented as a bird. The goose, in particular, is not only a symbol of the spiritual versus the material, but of providence and perpetual vigilance as well.[9]

8. Ada Bruhn Hoffmeyer, "Introduction to the History of the European Sword", *Gladius* 1 (1961) pp. 47-50; Idem, *Arms and Armour in Spain A Short Survey* vol. 1: *The Bronze Age to the End of High Middle Ages* (Caceres, Spain: Instituto de Estudios Sobre Armas Antiguas) pp. 104-108; correspondence from Richard Ettinghausen, 20th June, 1978; correspondence from D.G. Alexander, 14th December 1979; discussion with David C. Nicolle in Athens, Greece, 17th July, 1988; correspondence from A.S.O. Unusov, August 15, 1988; correspondence from I.R. Selimkhanov, September, 1988.

9. Katherine M. Ball, *Decorative Motives of Oriental Art,* (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1969) pp. 239-240; Curt Maury, *Folk Origins of Indian Art,* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969) pp. 99-100; Heinrich Robert Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia,* Bollingen Series XXXIX (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968) p. 156; Jean Philippe Vogel, *The Goose in Indian Literature and Art,* Memoirs of the Kern Institute 11 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1962) passim; George W. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1954) pp. 6 and 17; Erwin R. Goodenough, *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World,* vol. 8 Pagan Symbols in Judaism (the second of two volumes), Bollingen Series XXXVII (New York: Pantheon Books, 1958) pp. 29-30, 45-50; Herman Goetz, "Indo-Islamic Figural Sculpture", *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963): 238-239; H.P. L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World,* Instituttet fer Sammenlignende Kulturforskning (New Rochelle, New York: Caratzas Brothers, 1982) pp. 69-72.

In addition, the overall hilt shape is that of a lotus. This is particularly relevant in light of Bosch's developmental scheme and subsequent interpretation of the *padmamula,* especially the bowl of plenty motif.[10] The hilt, oriented vertically with the pommel down, could be a stylized version of this image: the pommel as a bowl, the grip as the stalk, the flanged quillons as the leaves and the hamsa motif as the flower.

Thus, if consciously adopted in the West, the hamsa image could have had a wide variety of meanings. It could be a symbol of perpetual vigilance and power to separate spirit from mater (soul from body). It could represent the winged soul, or even be reinterpreted as a peacock or a phoenix both of which are well represented in Byzantine and Islamic art as being symbolic of eternal life. At an extreme, it may even be an heraldic device or a visual pun suggesting the name of its owner. The name Hamza was well represented in Arabic, Persian and Caucasian folklore and literature.[11]

On the basis of visual analysis, it is quite difficult to arrive at a point of origin for the design and decoration of the hilt. However, technical examination has provided additional primary evidence. An initial qualitative compositional analysis of the weapon revealed proportional amounts of arsenic, zinc, lead, cobalt, and nickel which indicate a Near Eastern origin. A comparison of lead isotope data for fishnet weights, ceramic glazes, a selection of glass fragments, and a bronze steelyard, from the site demonstrate a wide range of lead types and, by inference, suggest a degree of geographical diversity within the artifact assemblage. The sword hilt, however, by virtue of a close match to lead isotope data for the Anguran mines near Takkht-i-Suleiman (northwest of Teheran) and an ore from a mine on the Black Sea coast, seems to have originated in

10. F.D.K. Bosch, *The Golden Germ an Introduction to Indian Symbolism,* Indo-Iranian Monographs II (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1960) pp. 110-113. I am indebted to Dr. Elizabeth Rosen, Darielle Mason, Katherine Hacker, and Ajay Sinha for this observation.

11. Correspondence from T. Michel, 23rd May, 1988.

northern Iran or Northern Turkey. Further, particle induced x-ray emmission (PIXE) analysis revealed no trace of silver wash or gilding on the surface of the hilt but did corroborate the original compositional data.[12]

Although stylistic and technical evidence are far from definitive, they do support specific conclusions. The hilt must have been manufactured prior to A.D. 1025, and its configuration indicates a Roman/Byzantine tradition of construction and use. The presence of a lanyard ring is particularly significant as such a device is usually associated with mounted troops and, in this instance, may allude to the rank and occupation of the owner. The decorative schema reflects a mixed iconography and is traceable to an Indian prototype. However, the lack of gilding or silver wash suggests the weapon was not a deluxe item. Moreover, compositional and lead isotope studies denote a Near Eastern origin for the metal of the hilt, most probably Iran or Turkey, with close parallels among bronzes from Constantinople.

As a whole, the weapons from Serce Limani reflect a remarkably international range of influences. Pole arms may have reached the Aegean over trade routes stretching from Prague and Krakow to the shores of the Black Sea. Alternatively, they may have been manufactured by Bulgarian armorers in imitation of Central European types. Either possibility is enhanced by van Doorninck's independent discovery that many of the amphoras from Serce bear runic letters and clearly come from the Danubian region of the Black Sea coast.[13]

Similarly, the South Asian features of the bronze hilt and the archaeological/technological evidence indicating Near Eastern manufacture allude to East – West contact. Given Goitein's study of Geniza documents and the research of Wheatley, Wolters, and Collis on medieval Western trade with Malaysia,[14] the hilt could have been made

12. Compositional analysis was conducted by Hadi Ozbal of Bogazici Universitesi, Istanbul, Turkey in September, 1982. Lead isotope analysis was arranged by Robert Brill of the Corning Museum of Glass, Corning, New York and conducted by E.C. Deal of the National Bureau of Standards, Gaithersburg, Maryland. PIXE analysis was arranged by Stuart Flemming of the Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology at the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania and conducted by Charles Swann of the Bartol Foundation of the Franklin Institute, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

13. Conversation with Frederick H. van Doorninck Jr., July 2, 1988.

14. The commercial contacts between India and the medieval West are well established and lie outside the particular concerns of the present study. For additional information, see G.W.B. Huntingford, gen. ed. and trans. *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1980); Moti Chandra, *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India,* (New Delhi: Abhinau Publications, 1977); H.C. Verma, *Medieval Trade Routes to India: Baghdad*

in the East (India or Malaysia) from raw materials, copper, tin, and lead, imported from the West; afixed to one of the famous blades mentioned by al-Hind and subsequently shipped back to the West. However, it is equally possible that the weapon was produced in the West by an artisan who was familiar with oriental motifs.

Clearly, basic questions remain to be answered. Does the previously mentioned organization of pole arms into specific groups reflect purposeful arrangement or an accident of deposition? In at least two cases, respective wrappings of burlap and reed matting indicate such grouping was intentional. How do the weapons relate to the site as a whole; are they cargo or ship's stores? Again, evidence is limited, yet, artifact location and orientation seem to indicate some of the arms may have been stowed as cargo.

Further questions arise regarding the broader politico-economic aspects of these weapons. The frequency with which the Serce Limani hilt type is represented in Caucasian contexts suggests a direct connection if not as manufacturer then as supplier or consumer. There is little doubt that Caucasia could have been a primary intermediary between India and the West. During the tenth and the first quarter of the eleventh centuries A.D., Caucasia was experiencing a cultural and economic rebirth. The riches of Persia, China and India passed through the Bagratid cities of Dwin, Ani, and Arcn on the way to the Black Sea port of Trebizond[15] and, as might be expected, literary and artistic influences from the East followed craftsman and merchant.

Moreover, I would suggest the continual relocation of Jews and Armenians had inadvertently resulted in a vast trade network based on ties of blood, language, religion, and culture. Beginning with the Rhadanites in the ninth century and continuing with the Armenians in the late tenth and early eleventh century, this trade system may have stretched from Spain

to Delhi, a Study of trade and Military Routes, (Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1978); Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Khersonese,* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1961); E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India,* (London: Vikas Publishing House, 1974); P.J. Thomas, "Roman Trade Centers on the Malabar Coast", *Indian Geographical Journal* 6.3/4 (October 1931-January 1932): 230-240; S.D. Goitein, "From the Mediterranean to India, Documents on the Trade to India, South Arabia, and East Africa from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Speculum* XXIX (April 1954); S.Q. Fatimi, "Malaysian Weapons in Arabic Literature: a Glimpse of Early Trade in the Indian Ocean", *Islamic Studies* II (June 1964); Brian E. Colless, "Persian Merchants and Missionaries in Medieval Malaya", *Royal Asiatic Society Journal of the Malaysian Branch* 42.2 (1969).

15. H.A. Manandian, *The Trade and Cities of Armenia in Relation to Ancient World Trade,* Translated by Nina G. Garsoian (Lisbon: Livraria Bertrand, 1965) pp. 129-172.

to India and was surpassed only by the rise of commercial treaties after the First Crusade. It is entirely possible that the Serce Limani ship was a part, albeit a small part, of this network and that the international, hybrid nature of the weapons is a result.

JOSEPH KARL SCHWARZER II



Fig. 1. The harbor of Serce Limani as seen from the East.

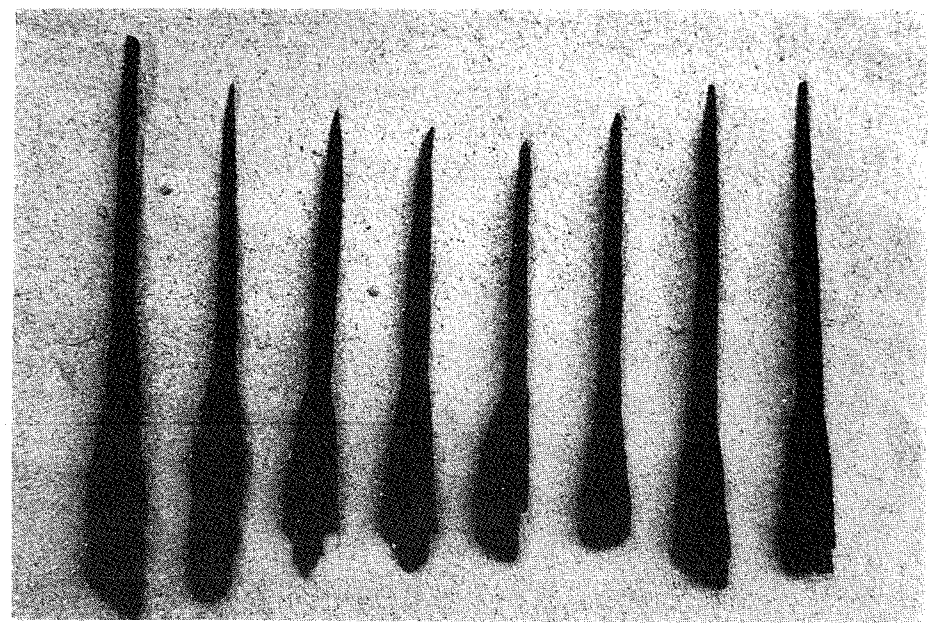


Fig. 2. Various javelin-heads from Serce Limani. Socket-seams and fragments of haft are clearly visible.

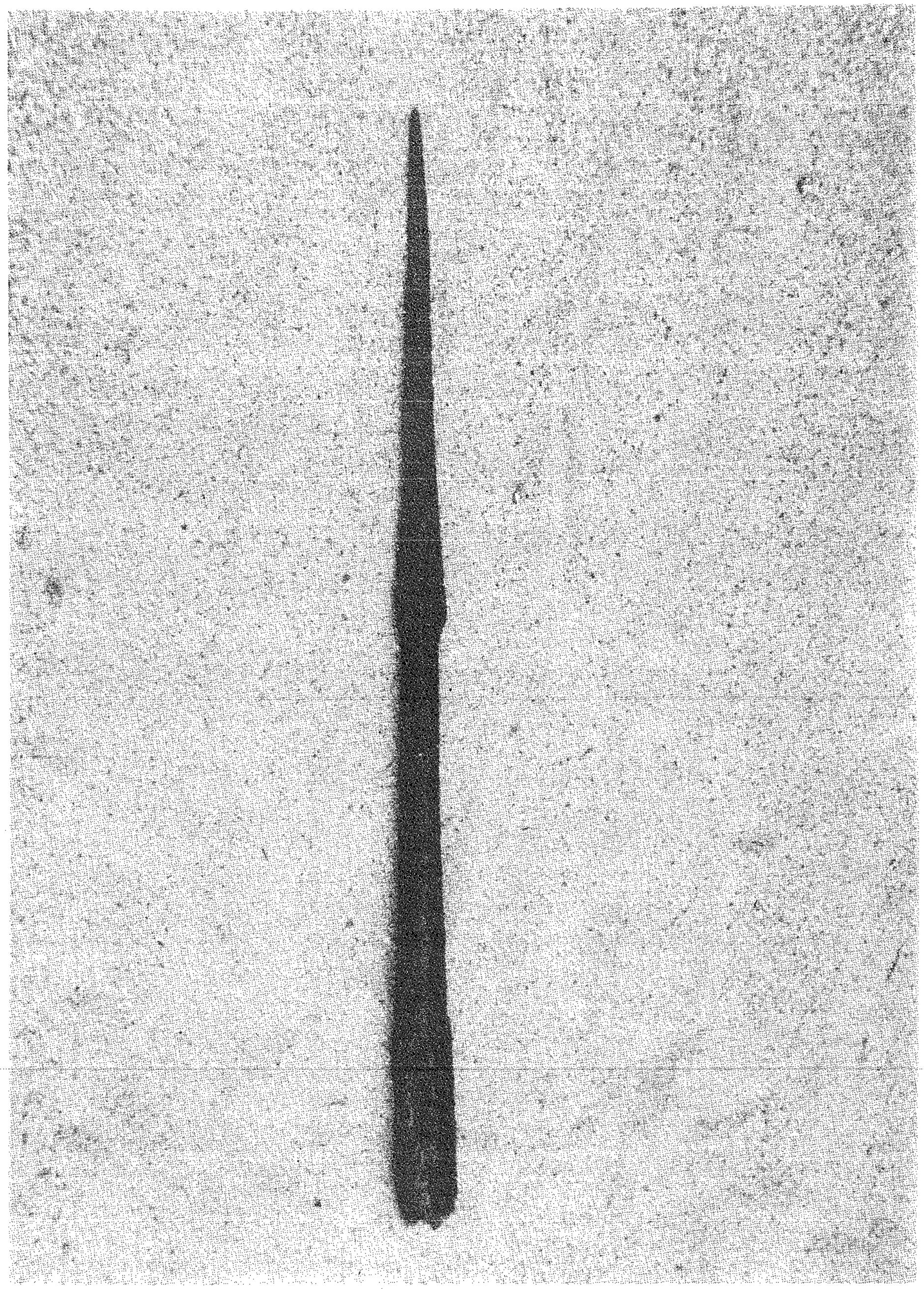


Fig. 3. GW 934; note cross-hatching at base of blade.

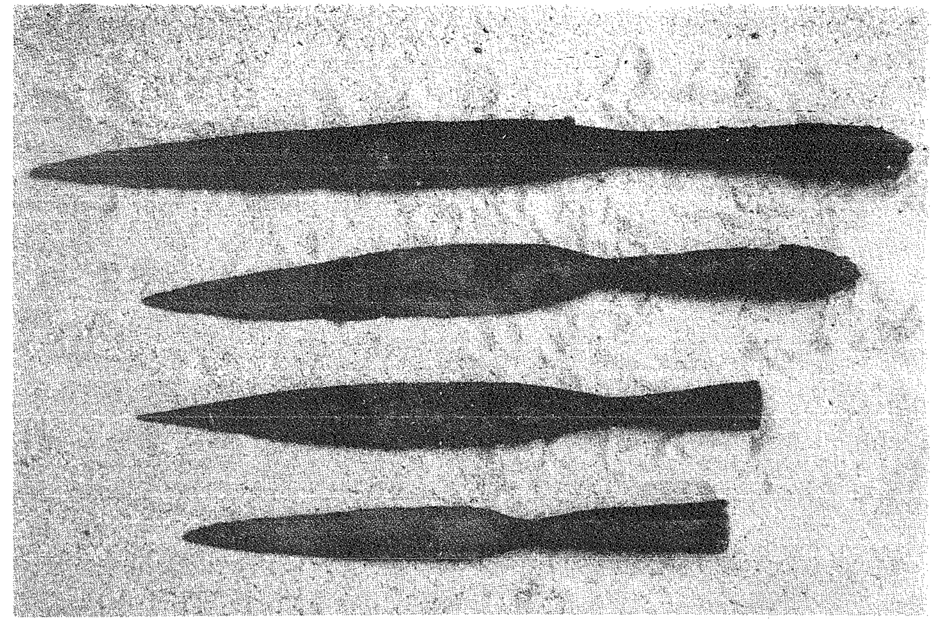


Fig. 4. Spear-heads; fragment of reed matting adheres to blade-base of spear-head shown at the top of the photograph.

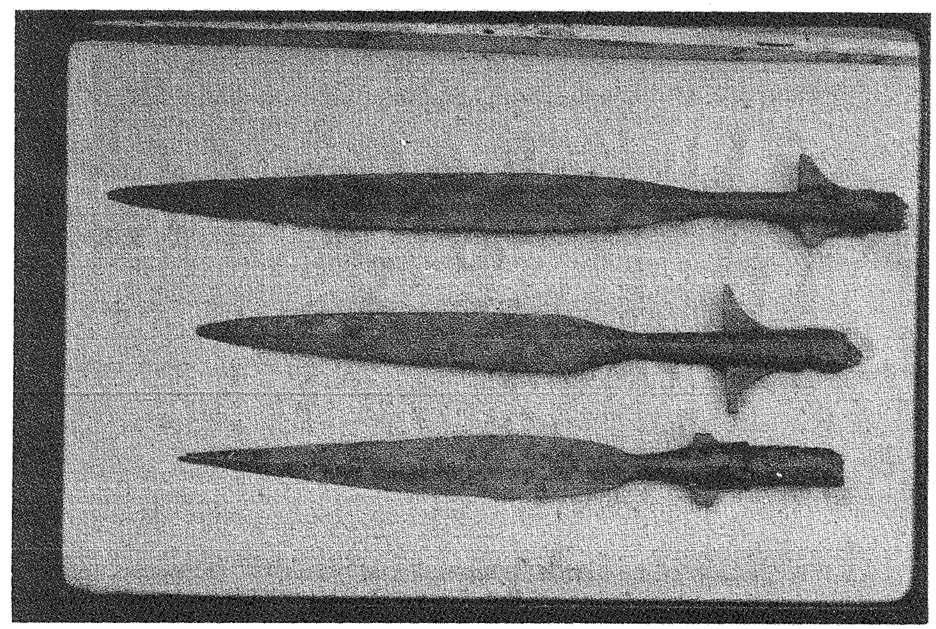


Fig. 5. Flanged or winged spear-heads; from top to bottom: GW 960, GW 959, and GW 958.

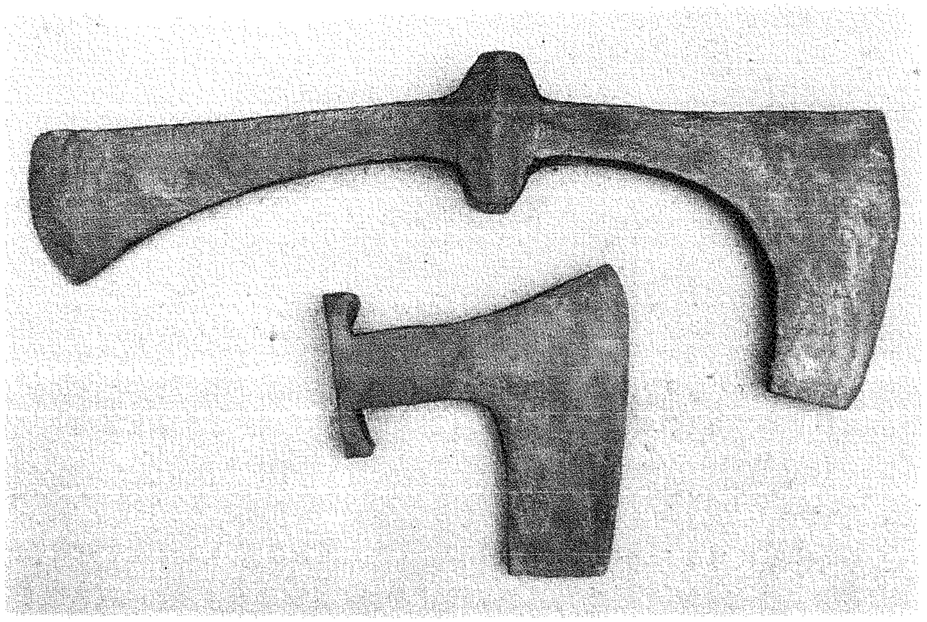


Fig. 6. Axes: GW 1116 (top), GW 1135 (bottom).

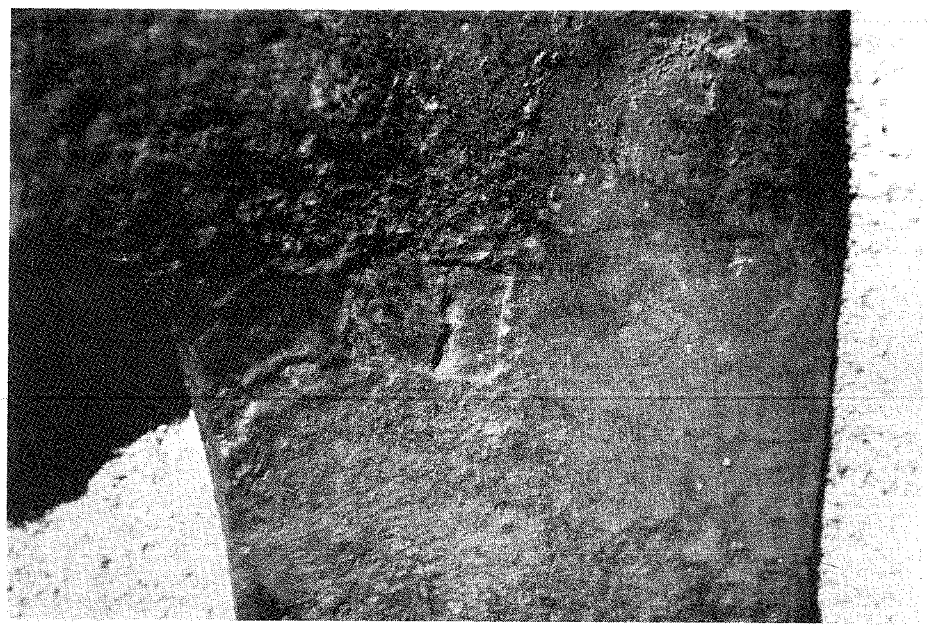


Fig. 7. Detail of GW 1135 showing vestiges of stamp on blade face.

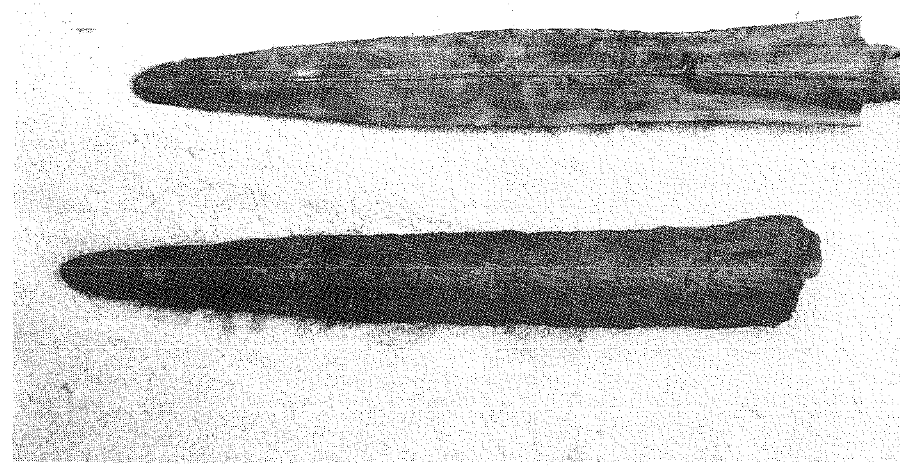


Fig. 8. Spear-head GW 1002 (top) and wooden scabbard (bottom); the spear-head was found in, and removed from the scabbard.



Fig. 9. Hafted spike GW 983.

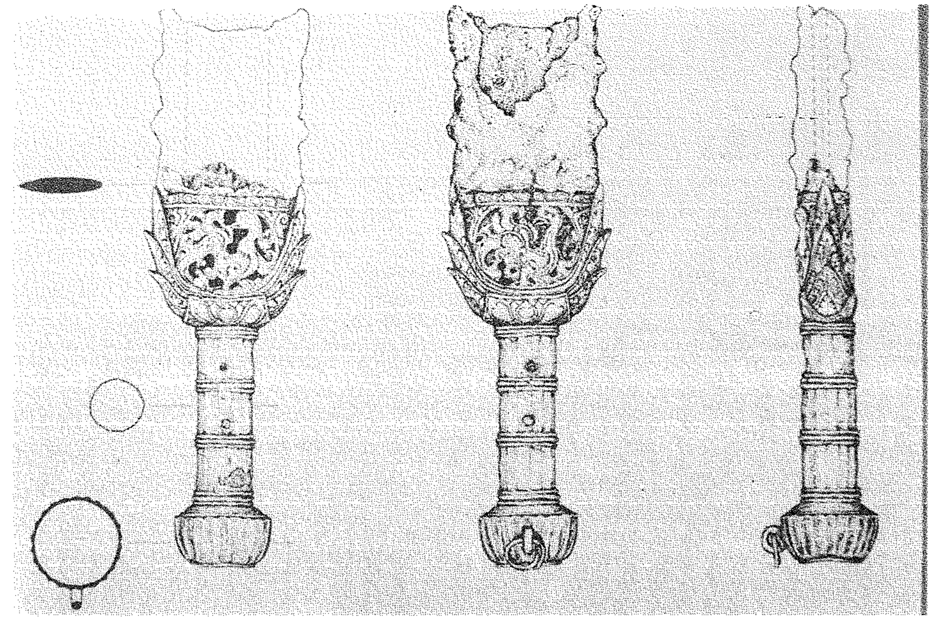


Fig. 10. Bronze hilt from Serce Limani.

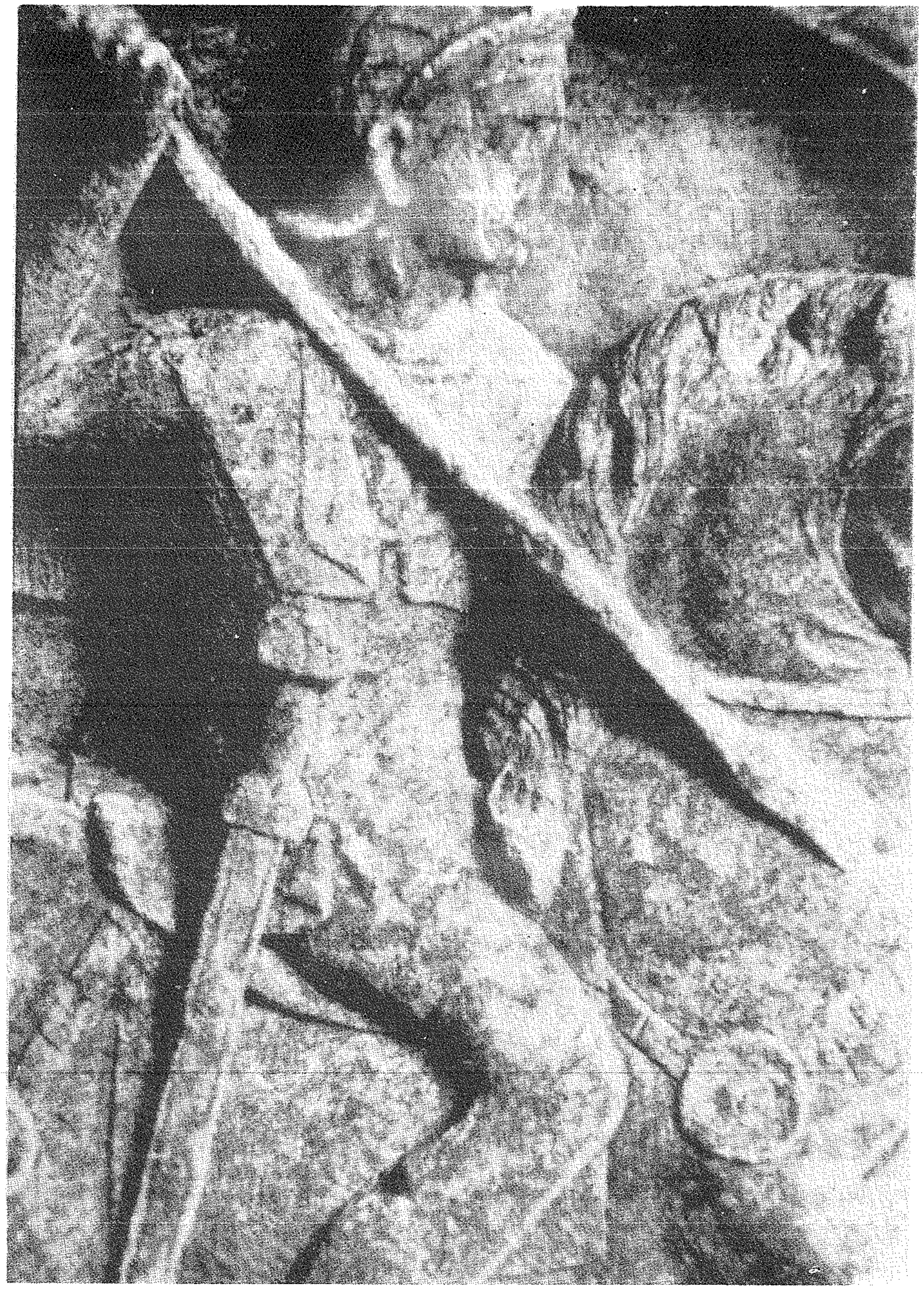


Fig. 11. Detail of relief from the tomb of Titus Flavius Bassus, Cologne, 1st century A.D. Note form of sword hilt.



Fig. 12. Fragment of an ivory relief from Alexandria, Egypt, 5th century A.D. Note sword hilt.

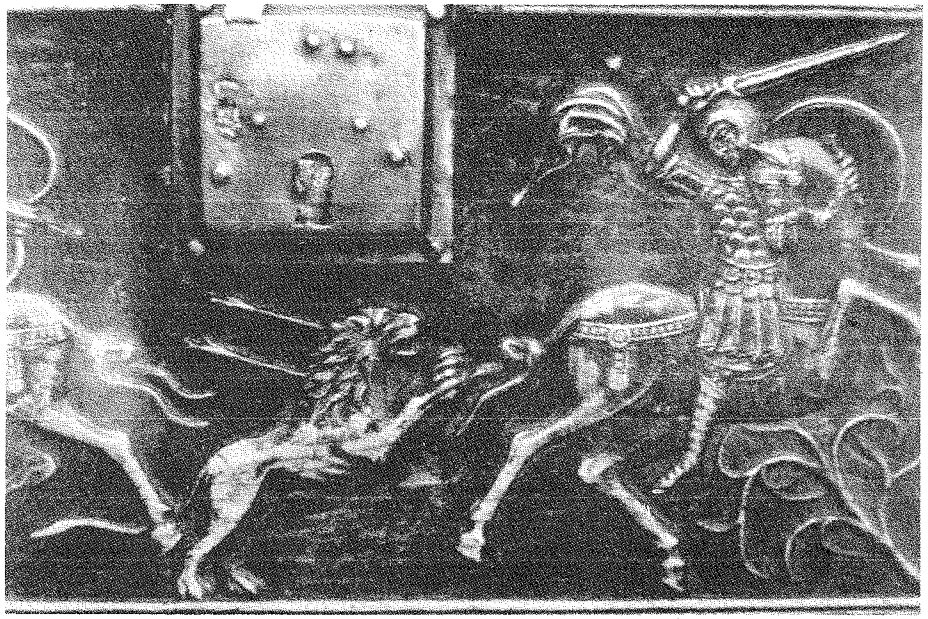


Fig. 13. Detail of front panel from the Tryes casket, 11th century A.D. Note sword hilt.



Fig. 14. Detail of sword AS. Muze 2382 in the Military Museum in Istanbul, Turkey, 12th-13th centuries A.D.

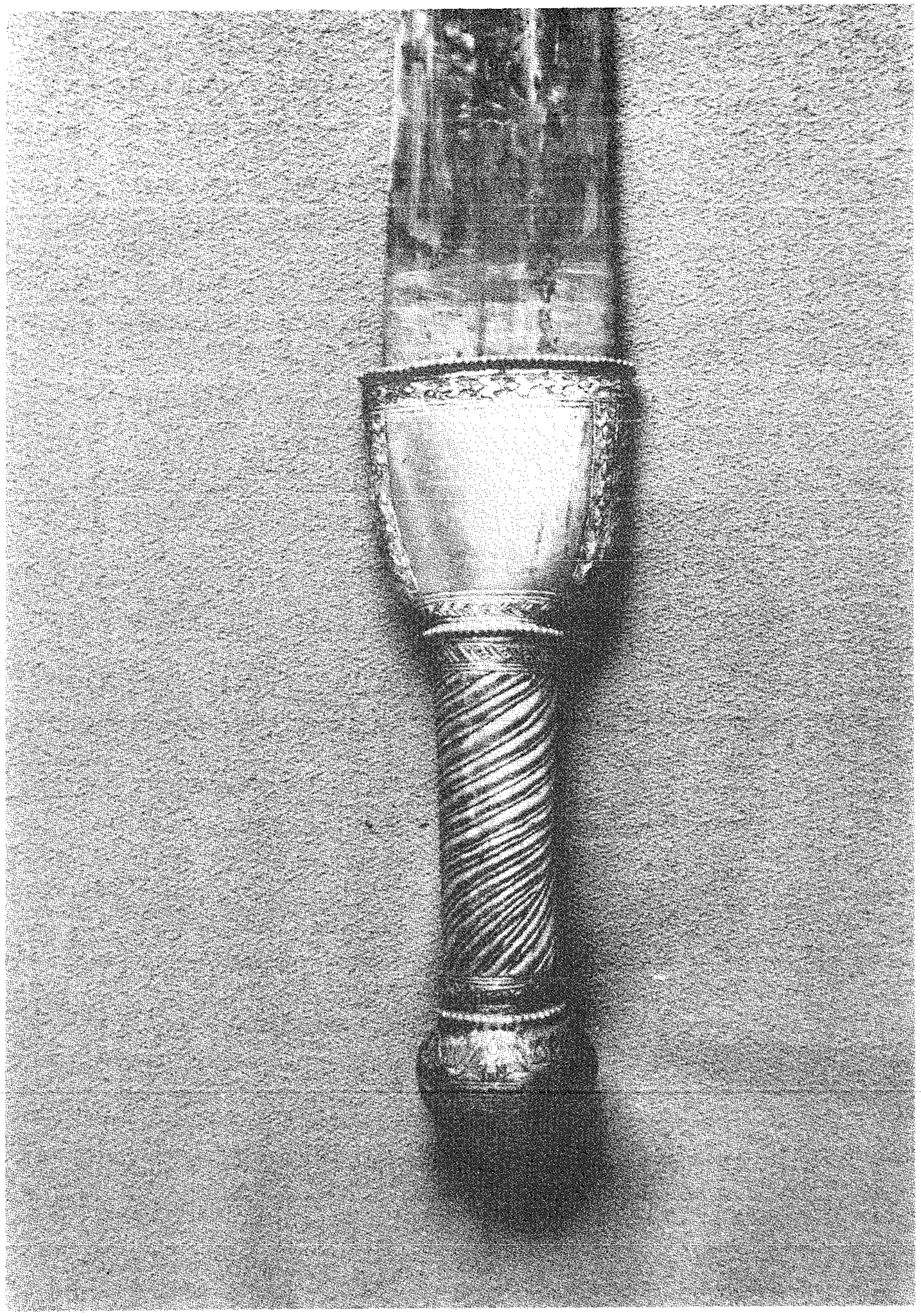


Fig. 15. Detail of sword AS. Muze 1617 in the Military Museum in Istanbul, Turkey, 14th-17th centuries A.D.



Fig. 16. Detail of sword AS. Muze 1620 in the Military Museum in Istanbul, Turkey, 14th-17th centuries A.D.



Fig. 17. Hamsa; relief from the Virupaksa Temple, Pattadakal, India, mid 8th century A.D.

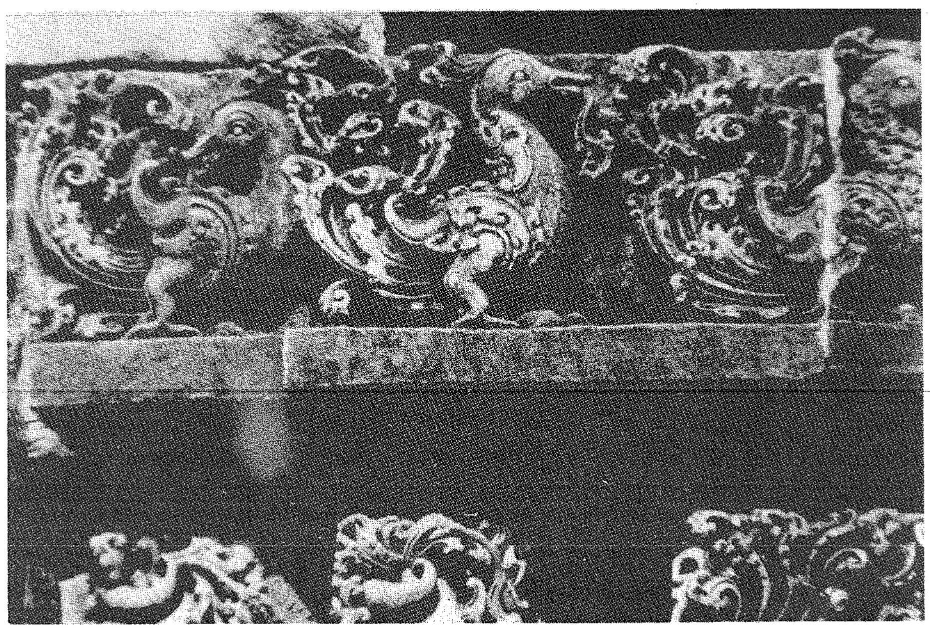


Fig. 18. Hamsa; relief from Hoysalesvara Temple, Halebid, India, 12th century A.D. Compare pose of hamsa in upper left corner with that depicted on the hilt from Serce Limani.

BOOK REVIEWS

NUBICA I/II
Internationales Jahrbuch für Äthiopische, Meroitische und Nubische Studien. International Annual for Ethiopian, Meroitic and Nubian Studies. Annuaire International pour les Études Éthiopiennes, Meroitiques et Nubiennes. Herausgegeben von Piotr O. Scholz und C. Detlef G. Müller. Köln 1990.

Φέτος κυκλοφόρησε ο πρώτος διπλός τόμος ενός περιοδικού για Αιθιοπικές, Μεροϊκές και Νουβικές σπουδές με τον γενικό τίτλο NUBICA. Ο τόμος αυτός, στο έπακρο προσεγμένος, αποτελεί μια ευχάριστη έκπληξη στο χώρο της επιστήμης. Η ποικιλία των θεμάτων που περιλαμβάνει είναι τεράστια· άρθρα σχετικά με την ιστορία, αρχαιολογία, τέχνη, λαογραφία, θρησκεία των χωρών στις οποίες αναφέρεται το περιοδικό γεμίζουν 700 περίπου σελίδες ενώ άψογα δοσμένες έγχρωμες ή ασπρόμαυρες φωτογραφίες και χάρτες αποτελούν ένα πολύτιμο εποπτικό μέσο. Ο τόμος χωρίζεται σε επτά κεφάλαια ενώ υπάρχει ένα ιδιαίτερο τμήμα αφιερωμένο στο 6ο διεθνές συνέδριο Νουβικών σπουδών που έλαβε χώρα στην Uppsala το 1986 και που όπως φαίνεται από το αφιέρωμα πρέπει να ήταν εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον. Στο σημείωμα αυτό θα παρουσιάσω το γερμανόφωνο και γαλλόφωνο τμήμα του περιοδικού ενώ το αγγλόφωνο θα παρουσιάσει ο κ. Gamal Al-Tahir.

Στο πρώτο κεφάλαιο ο Christian Onasch παρουσιάζει το βιβλίο της E.E. Kormyschewa "Religija Kuša" γραμμένο ρωσικά και εκδομένο στη Μόσχα το 1984· το άρθρο έχει τίτλο *Die kuschitische Religion aus der Sicht von E.E. Kormyschewa in ihrem Werk "Religija Kuša"*, σελ. 47-75. Η παρουσίαση του βιβλίου είναι έτσι δοσμένη ώστε από τη μία να μας πείθει ότι πρόκειται για αναμφισβήτητα εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον έργο από την άλλη να μας προκαλεί να το διαβάσομε. Διαβάζοντας το βιβλίο της E.E. Kormyschewa, βλ. άρθρο του Chr. Onasch, πληροφορούμαστε την "εισβολή" των αιγυπτίων θεών στη γειτονική χώρα, πράγμα βέβαια που δεν μπορεί ν' αποτελέσει έκπληξη, παράλληλα όμως μαθαίνομε για την "υποδοχή" των θεών αυτών, οι οποίοι, όπως φαίνεται, υιοθετήθηκαν από λαό, συνυπήρξαν με τους τοπικούς θεούς κι απόκτησαν μάλιστα ορισμένη θέση στο κουσιτικό πάνθεο. Ο Onasch δεν κρύβει την αντίθεσή του σ' ορισμένες θέσεις της συγγραφέως στοιχείο που προσθέτει ενδιαφέρον.

Στη συνέχεια ο Mokhtar M. Khalil ασχολείται με τη νουβική γλώσσα. Χρησιμοποιώντας 1. παλαιονουβική γραφή: γραφή που δεν αποτελεί παρά εξέλιξη της κοπτικής και 2. κατατάσσοντας τις λέξεις όχι αλφαβητικά αλλά

ανάλογα με τη ρίζα τους φτιάχνει ένα λεξικό της νουβικής γλώσσας· ο πλήρης τίτλος είναι *Wörterbuch der nubischen Sprache (Fadidja/Maḥas - Dialekt),* σελ. 95-121. Ας σημειώσουμε πως δημοσιεύεται το πρώτο μέρος του λεξικού και συνοδεύεται από ενδιαφέρουσα βιβλιογραφία.

Το δεύτερο τμήμα του τόμου, σελ. 125-146, αποτελεί η επανέκδοση ενός κεφαλαίου του βιβλίου του Konrad Mannert "Γεωγραφία των Ελλήνων και των Ρωμαίων", το κεφάλαιο εκείνο που αφορά τη Γεωγραφία της Β.Α. Αφρικής και τιτλοφορείται "Αιθιοπία ή η αυτοκρατορία του Αξούμ και της Μερόης" *(Aethiopia, oder das Reich von Axume und von Meroe eingeleitet und kommentiert von Piotr O. Scholz* Teil I). Το άρθρο υπογράφει ο P. Scholz ένας από τους δύο εκδότες του NUBICA. Ο P. Scholz στην αρχή παραθέτει μια σύντομη εισαγωγή όπου εξηγεί τους λόγους που σήμερα τον οδήγησαν να ξαναπαρουσιάσει ένα έργο που γράφτηκε μεταξύ των ετών 1788-1825 και παράλληλα παραθέτει ένα σύντομο βιογραφικό σημείωμα του Konrad Mannert, ο οποίος έγραψε το μνημειώδες έργο του περιλαμβάνοντας σ' αυτό χώρες και λαούς που μέχρι τότε ήταν γνωστοί "από μύθους και παραδόσεις". Η επανέκδοση συμπληρώνεται βιβλιογραφικά και υπομνηματίζεται από τον P. Scholz. Στον τρίτο τόμο του NUBICA θα δημοσιευθεί το δεύτερο μέρος του κεφαλαίου.

Στο τρίτο κεφάλαιο του τόμου υπάρχει το άρθρο "Φαγητά και ήθη του τραπεζιού στην Αιθιοπία" *(Girma Fisseha, Speisen und Tischsitten in Äthiopien,* σελ. 213-232). Σ' αυτό το άρθρο μπορούμε να βρούμε από συνταγές φαγητών της Αιθιοπίας μέχρι εντυπώσεις επισήμων ταξιδιωτών σχετικές με το φαγητό και τις συνήθειες που έχουν στο τραπέζι οι Αιθίοπες. Παράλληλα σκιαγραφείται μια εικόνα της καθημερινής ζωής στην Αιθιοπία σε συνάρτηση μάλιστα με τις χριστιανικές υποχρεώσεις των χριστιανών κατοίκων. Κάποιες γραφικές φωτογραφίες σχετικές με το θέμα πλαισιώνουν το άρθρο.

Το τέταρτο κεφάλαιο του περιοδικού τιτλοφορείται "Από τα μουσεία και τις συλλογές" *(Aus Sammlungen und Museen)*· είναι τμήμα κατεξοχήν αρχαιολογικού περιεχομένου και βασίζεται στις εργασίες αρχαιολογικών κλιμακίων από διάφορες χώρες του κόσμου που εργάστηκαν κατά καιρούς στη Νουβία. Στην ενότητα αυτή μπορούμε να πληροφορηθούμε σχετικά με την τύχη των ευρημάτων των ανασκαφών στα διάφορα μουσεία του κόσμου.

Το άρθρο - για παράδειγμα - του Ulrich Braukämper σχετικά με τις Νουβικές συλλογές στο εθνογραφικό Μουσείο του Χαρτούμ *(Zum Stand der Nubien-Sammlungen des Ethnographischen Museums Khartoum,* σελ. 235-242) αναφέρεται διεξοδικά στα διάφορα Νουβικά εκθέματα του Μουσείου ενώ παράλληλα εκφράζεται η ευχή να ιδρυθεί ιδιαίτερο Μουσείο που να περιλαμβάνει μόνο νουβικά αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα στην περιοχή της Νουβίας.

Στη συνέχεια το άρθρο του Joachim Sliwa με τον τίτλο "Η ομάδα C κεραμικών του Toschke στην Κρακοβία" *(Die C-Gruppe-Keramik aus Toschke in Krakow,* σελ. 243-254) αναφέρεται σε μια ιδιαίτερη ομάδα αγγείων που βρίσκονται στο αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο της Κρακοβίας και που βρέθηκαν κατά τις ανασκαφές στην περιοχή Toschke της Νουβίας. Οι φωτογραφίες που συνοδεύουν το άρθρο μας βοηθούν να σχηματίσομε σαφή εικόνα, εκτός από τη λεπτομερή γραπτή περιγραφή, της ιδιαίτερης αυτής ομάδας κεραμικών "που αποτελεί καθαρά νουβική γραμμή".

Το τελευταίο άρθρο του τετάρτου κεφαλαίου υπογράφεται από τον Piotr Scholz και είναι μια σύντομη έκθεση της προεργασίας για τη δημοσίευση των ευρημάτων του John Garstang από την ανασκαφή της Μερόης (1910-1914), ευρημάτων που κατά συντριπτική πλειοψηφία βρίσκονται στο Liverpool ο πλήρης τίτλος είναι *Kurzbericht zum Stand der Vorarbeiten an der Publikation der Objekte der John Garstang Ausgrabungen in Meroe (1910-1914) in the National Museums & Galleries on Merseyside,* Liverpool, σελ. 255-258. Είναι γνωστή η σημασία κι ο ρόλος του Μεροϊτικού βασιλείου και ένας κατάλογος ο οποίος θα περιλαμβάνει πάνω από 500 ευρήματα είναι σίγουρο πως θα φέρει καινούρια στοιχεία στο φως, στοιχεία σχετικά τόσο με την ιστορία του Μεροϊτικού βασιλείου όσο και με τις σχέσεις του βασιλείου αυτού με γειτονικά κράτη και πολιτισμούς.

Το πέμπτο κεφάλαιο του περιοδικού NUBICA περιλαμβάνει σύντομα άρθρα ποικίλου περιεχομένου (Glossen, Miszellen und Diskussionsbeiträge).

Το πρώτο άρθρο αφορά την εκκλησία που είναι κτισμένη στην αυλή του ναού του Ραμψή του 2ου στην Akša (Peter Grossmann, Nochmals zur Tempelkirche von Aksa, σελ. 261-265). Η αναστήλωση της εκκλησίας είναι όπως φαίνεται σημείο αμφιλεγόμενο για τους ειδικούς οι οποίοι δεν παύουν ν' ασχολούνται μαζί της.

Το επόμενο άρθρο αφορά το κείμενο μιας αγοραπωλησίας που σώζεται στο Βερολίνο (Mokhtar Khalil, der Berliner Kaufvertrag P. 11277, σελ. 267-271). Από την αγοραπωλησία αυτή συμπεραίνομε ότι α. προέρχεται από την περιοχή της Νοβατίας και β. τα έγγραφα στη Νοβατία τη χριστιανική εποχή γράφονταν (ενν. στη διάλεκτο που κυριαρχούσε). Είναι εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον να διαπιστώνει κανείς την αδιάσπαστη συνέχεια των νομικών πράξεων ανεξάρτητα από τόπο και χρόνο.

Ακολουθούν δύο άρθρα γλωσσολογικού περιεχομένου:

α. Mokhtar Khalil, *Nubisch-Ägyptisches Lehnsgut I,* σελ. 273-275.

β. C.Detlef G. Müller, *Arabisch wird zur Sprache der Kopten,* σελ. 277-290.

Και τα δύο άρθρα, τα οποία είναι εξαιρετικά ακριβή, είναι άκρως ενδιαφέροντα για τους ειδικούς.

Στο σύντομο άρθρο του ο Konrad Onasch ασχολείται για μια ακόμα φορά με ένα ζήτημα που αφορά τις βυζαντινές εικόνες "δηλαδή, ότι η γλώσσα της εικόνας παντού, κάθε εποχή και από τον καθένα μπορούσε να κατανοηθεί, εφόσον αυτός ήταν ορθόδοξος χριστιανός". Ο ακριβής τίτλος είναι *Zur Ubiquität des byzantinischen Kultusbildes,* σελ. 291-294. Ο συγγραφέας εκφράζει απόψεις που είναι και ενδιαφέρουσες και θα μπορούσαν ν' αποτελέσουν θέμα συζητήσεων.

Το τελευταίο άρθρο του κεφαλαίου αυτού προέρχεται από τον Piotr Scholz και αφορά τις σχέσεις της Αιθιοπίας και της Ανατολής. Είναι ένα α-κόμα εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον άρθρο του ακούραστου Scholz, *Aithiopen und der Osten,* σελ. 295-310. Σ' αυτό εξετάζονται οι σχέσεις που είχε η Αιθιοπία της προαξουμιτικής περιόδου με την άπω και τη μέση Ανατολή. Η εργασία είναι αξιοσημείωτη δεδομένου ότι το ενδιαφέρον κινεί συνήθως η σχέση της αξουμιτικής Αιθιοπίας με τον ασιατικό χώρο. Ο συγγραφέας βασίζεται τόσο σε πηγές ιρανικές και χωρών της άπω Ανατολής όσο και σε αρχαιολογικά ευρήματα.

Το 6ο τμήμα του τόμου - για πολλούς ίσως και το πιο ενδιαφέρον - αφορά την παρουσίαση και την κριτική βιβλίων σχετικών με τις Νουβικές, Μεροϊκές και Αιθιοπικές σπουδές. Το κεφάλαιο αυτό προέρχεται εξολοκλήρου από τον Piotr Scholz κι είναι ένα πολύτιμο βοήθημα και για τον επιστήμονα που ήδη ασχολείται με τα θέματα αυτά και για κάποιον που θα ήθελε να τα προσεγγίσει. Η θεματική ποικιλία των βιβλίων αυτών είναι τεράστια· βιβλία για την προϊστορία, την ιστορία, την τέχνη, την αρχαιολογία, τη θρησκεία, τον πολιτισμό των χωρών της Β.Α. Αφρικής. Κι όχι μόνο· ένα πλήθος βιβλίων που έχουν θέμα την Αίγυπτο, τις αιγυπτο-νουβικές σχέσεις, τις βυζαντινές σπουδές, τη Γνώση, την κοπτική γλώσσα και τέχνη αναφέρονται ή κρίνονται με το σκεπτικό ότι όλα αυτά είναι απαραίτητα προκειμένου να εξετάζονται οι χώρες της Β.Α. Αφρικής σε σχέση με τα γειτονικά τους κράτη και πολιτισμούς: συχνά αποκαλείται η Νουβία "διάδρομος" μεταξύ πολιτισμών (σ. 235 στο άρθρο που αφορά τα νουβικά ευρήματα του εθνογραφικού Μουσείου του Χαρτούμ) αυτό αποτελεί ίσως και το πιο ενδιαφέρον σημείο των Νουβικών σπουδών.

Το έκτο κεφάλαιο έχει πληροφοριακό χαρακτήρα: σ' αυτό μπορούμε να πληροφορηθούμε για συνέδρια Μεροϊκών, Νουβικών και Αιθιοπικών σπουδών που έλαβαν χώρα σε διάφορα μέρη της Ευρώπης, το κεφάλαιο υπογράφει ο Piotr Sholz (εξαίρεση αποτελεί η παρουσίαση του διεθνούς συνεδρίου Κοπτικών σπουδών που έγινε στη Βαρσοβία το 1984 σελ. 422-423 και υπογράφει ο A. Lukaszewicz). Δεδομένου ότι τα συνέδρια που γίνονται σήμερα είναι σχεδόν αδύνατο να τα παρακολουθεί όλα ένας επιστήμονας έστω κι αν αγγίζουν τα ενδιαφέροντά του, το κεφάλαιο αυτό αποτελεί μια επιμέρους πολύτιμη συμβολή του περιοδικού NUBICA για τους ενδιαφερόμενους ερευνητές. Πρέπει να πούμε πως η παρουσίαση είναι αρκετά κατατοπιστική αφού περιλαμβάνει όχι μόνο τίτλους ανακοινώσεων αλλά και αρκετά στοιχεία των ανακοινώσεων των ίδιων.

Το τελευταίο κεφάλαιο του τόμου είναι, όπως προαναφέραμε, το αφιέρωμα στο διεθνές συνέδριο Νουβικών σπουδών που πραγματοποιήθηκε στην Uppsala από 11 έως 16 Αυγούστου 1986. Στην αρχή ένα σύντομο χρονικό του συνεδρίου, γραμμένο από τον Piotr Scholz μας κατατοπίζει πάνω στα θέματα και τους ομιλητές του συνεδρίου, το οποίο θα πρέπει να ήταν, όπως ήδη επισημάναμε, εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον.

Ενα άρθρο που κινεί αμέσως την προσοχή μας είναι εκείνο της Ewa Balicka-Witakowska "Η αποκαθήλωση στις τοιχογραφίες της Μητρόπολης του Faras" *(Descente de croix sur une peinture murale de la cathedrale de Faras,* σελ. 459-474). Η συγγραφέας προκειμένου να παρουσιάσει και να αξιολογήσει την παράσταση της αποκαθήλωσης την συγκρίνει μ' ένα πλήθος παραστάσεων του αυτού θέματος που βρίσκονται είτε σε χειρόγραφα, είτε σε λειψανοθήκες, είτε είναι γλυπτές παραστάσεις. Τα συμπεράσματα διατυπωμένα με προσοχή δύσκολα γεννούν αμφιβολίες.

Το επόμενο άρθρο αυτής της ενότητας που είναι σχετικό με την ιστορία τέχνης είναι εκείνο της Adriana Belluccio με τίτλο "Ο φοίνικας στη χριστιανική Νουβία" *(Le Phenix dans la Nubie chretienne,* σελ. 475-497). Η συγγραφέας παρουσιάζει όχι μόνο τις παραστάσεις του μυθικού πουλιού σε Νουβικές εκκλησίες αλλά αναφέρεται ταυτόχρονα και στη συμβολική σημασία που δίνεται κάθε φορά στην παράσταση ενώ προσπαθεί παράλληλα να συνδέει το συμβολισμό αυτό με κείμενα, παράδοση κι ανάλογες παραστάσεις.

Το επόμενο άρθρο του Piotr Scholz στο κεφάλαιο αυτό έχει τον τίτλο "Γνωστικά στοιχεία στη Νουβική ζωγραφική: η εικόνα του Χριστού" *(Gnostische Elemente in nubischen Wandmalereien: das Christusbild,* σελ. 565-584) και θίγει - όπως φαίνεται κι από τον τίτλο - το ανεξάντλητο ζήτημα της Γνώσης αυτή τη φορά στην περιοχή της Νουβίας και μέσα από μία παράσταση της Γέννησης. Ο συγγραφέας θεωρεί πως ενώ στην Ευρώπη οι διάφορες γνωστικές αιρέσεις καταδιώχτηκαν στη Νουβία τα γνωστικά στοιχεία ενσωματώθηκαν στην επίσημη εκκλησία. Είναι ένα από τα πιο ενδιαφέροντα άρθρα του περιοδικού δεδομένου ότι τόσο το θέμα αυτό καθαυτό όσο κι η διαδρομή που ακολουθεί προκειμένου να φθάσει στα συμπεράσματα που φθάνει μπορούν να προκαλέσουν πολλές συζητήσεις.

Στη συνέχεια ο Mario Schwarz στο άρθρο του *Syro-palästinensischer Einfluss auf die nubische Wandmalerei und Kirchenarchitektur,* σελ. 585-591 καταπιάνεται με το γνωστό ζήτημα της συροπαλαιστινιακής επίδρασης στη Νουβία· αυτή τη φορά η επίδραση εξετάζεται στην τοιχογραφία και την αρχιτεκτονική. Ο συγγραφέας συγκρίνοντας τοιχογραφίες από το Faras με συροπαλαιστινιακές μινιατούρες, ή αναλύοντας και συγκρίνοντας αρχιτεκτονικά στοιχεία Νουβικών εκκλησιών με εκκλησίες της Παλαιστίνης, ενώ παράλληλα αναφέρεται σε ιστορικά γεγονότα, παρουσιάζει με τρόπο σαφή και κατανοητό ένα πολυδιάστατο και δύσκολο θέμα.

Σ' ένα από τα τελευταία άρθρα ο Rüdiger Unger ασχολείται με ένα γλωσσολογικό θέμα της παλαιονουβικής γλώσσας *Bemerkungen zu dem altnubischen Ausdruck παPP-Π Κοδ¯ρ,* σελ. 631-651.

Το τελευταίο άρθρο του περιοδικού προέρχεται από τον Steffen Wenig *Numerische Methoden, Datenverarbeitung und Mikrocomputer: Bericht über zwei Arbeitstagungen in Steinförde/DDR* σελ. 661-667. Είναι ακόμα ένα πληροφοριακό άρθρο μόνο σ' αυτή την περίπτωση πρόκειται για κάτι πολύ προοδευτικό και χρήσιμο. Ο Steffen Wenig δηλαδή μας πληροφορεί για τις προόδους που έγιναν στον τομέα της χρήσης computer για την εξέταση

αρχαιολογικού υλικού, στην Αιγυπτιολογία, τις Μεροϊκές και Νουβικές σπουδές. Σίγουρα πολλούς επιστήμονες ενδιαφέρει το τελευταίο αυτό άρθρο του NUBICA, το οποίο συνοδεύεται κι από βιβλιογραφία που αφορά το θέμα.

Δε μένει κλείνοντας αυτό το σημείωμα παρά να ευχηθούμε όλοι οι επόμενοι τόμοι του NUBICA να είναι τόσο αξιόλογοι όσο ο πρώτος αυτός διπλός τόμος του περιοδικού, του οποίου η εμφάνιση μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί, δίχως υπερβολή, σα γεγονός.

Σ. ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ
(Αθήνα)

Το πρώτο αγγλικό άρθρο γράφτηκε απ' τον Rodolfo Fattovich με τίτλο "The peopling of the Northern Ethiopian-Sudanese Borderland netween 700 and 1000 BP: A Preliminary Model" και είναι μια περίληψη της ανακοίνωσης, που παρουσίασε στο Διεθνές Συνέδριο, που είχε θέμα "Τα Επαγγέλματα στην Αφρική". Το Συνέδριο έγινε προς τιμήν του Tidesmond Clark, στο Berkley της Καλιφόρνια 12-16 Απριλίου 1986.

Αρχικά ο συγγραφέας δείχνει τη σπουδαιότητα των περιοχών που βρίσκονται γύρω από τα Αιθιοπικά και Σουδανικά σύνορα, οι οποίες αποτελούσαν το κρίσιμο σημείο για τις επαφές ανάμεσα στους κατοίκους της Βόρειας Αιθιοπίας και της Πεδιάδας του Νείλου. Αναφέρει ακόμα ότι αυτή η περιοχή δεν ήταν περιθωριακή στους αρχαίους χρόνους αλλά ήταν πυκνοκατοικημένη μέχρι την πρώτη χιλιετηρίδα π.Χ. Ίσως αυτή να ήταν η περιοχή του Punt που καταγράφεται στις Φαραωνικές πηγές.

Στη μελέτη αυτή, με βάση τις αρχαιολογικές και ιστορικές μαρτυρίες, σκιαγραφούνται η πολιτική ιστορία, οι κοινωνικο-οικονομικές σχέσεις και η έκταση των επαφών των λαών που κατοικούσαν κατά μήκος αυτών των συνόρων στα τέλη των προϊστορικών και αρχές των ιστορικών χρόνων.

Ο συγγραφέας καταλήγει σε κάποια συμπεράσματα αναφέροντας ότι η εικόνα που προσπάθησε να δώσει στο άρθρο του είναι ακόμα θεωρητική, αλλά τα ιστορικά και αρχαιολογικά δεδομένα δείχνουν ότι οι αρχαίοι κάτοικοι αυτής της περιοχής έπαιξαν ένα πολύ σημαντικό ρόλο στην κοινωνικο-οικονομική και πολιτιστική ιστορία της Βόρειας Αφρικής. Γι' αυτό και η έρευνα αυτής της περιοχής πρέπει να θεωρηθεί σαν ένα πρωταρχικό και βασικό έργο για τη Σουδανική και Αιθιοπική Αρχαιολογία.

Το δεύτερο αγγλικό άρθρο είναι επίσης απ' το πρώτο τμήμα του πρώτου διπλού τόμου "Nubica", γραμμένο απ' τον Stanislaw Medeksza. "Παρατηρήσεις στις δομικές κατασκευές στη Νουβία" (Remarks on Structural Engineering in Nubia).

Είναι μια μελέτη που παρουσιάζει τα Χριστιανικά σπίτια τύπου "Α" και "Β", στην Αρχαία Dongola και ταυτόχρονα τα οικοδομικά υλικά και τις τεχνικές που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την κατασκευή τους. Καταλήγοντας αναφέρεται στον ρόλο που έπαιξε η λάσπη του Νείλου σαν υλικό κατασκευής, τονίζοντας ότι συνεχίζεται να χρησιμοποιείται και σήμερα σε ολόκληρη τη Νουβία.

Στο τρίτο τμήμα του περιοδικού, ο Sergio Donadoni γράφει για τις Ιταλικές ανασκαφές στο Jebel Barkal το 1987, μας ενημερώνει για τις δύσκολες συνθήκες δουλειάς που αντιμετώπισε η αποστολή κατά τη διάρκεια των ανασκαφών και για τα λίγα ευρήματα που ανακάλυψαν.

Σ' ένα άλλο άρθρο του ο ίδιος συγγραφέας αναφέρεται στην προετοιμασία των ανασκαφών στον 4ο Καταρράκτη, τις πρακτικές δηλαδή δυνατότητες της οργάνωσης της μελλοντικής δουλειάς.

Συνεχίζοντας, γράφει ο Jaroslaw Dobrowolski ένα άρθρο με τίτλο "Naqlun – Deir al-Malak Ghubrail. The Existing Monastic Complex". Σ' αυτό το άρθρο γίνεται η προσπάθεια να αποκατασταθεί η αρχική μορφή του μοναστηριού με βάση τις ιστορικές μαρτυρίες και το ήδη υπάρχον κτίριο. Το Μοναστήρι στη Naqlun περιλαμβάνει στη σημερινή του κατάσταση ένα ανομοιογενές σύνολο κτιρίων που τοποθετούνται χρονικά σε διαφορετικές περιόδους. Για ανασκαφές στο ίδιο μοναστήρι μιλούν σ' ένα άλλο άρθρο οι: Wlodzimierz Godlewski, Tomasz Herbitch, Ewa Wipszcka. Στην αρχή αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι μέσα στα ευρήματα που ανακάλυψαν συμπεριλαμβάνονται κείμενα γραμμένα σε πάπυρους ή χαρτιά στα Ελληνικά, Κοπτικά και Αραβικά ή ακόμη κείμενα σε δύο γλώσσες.

Ένα απ' τα μεγαλύτερα προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζει η έρευνα στο Σουδάν είναι η έλλειψη ενός καλού χάρτη για αρχαιολογικούς σκοπούς. Ο Krzysztof Grzymski απ' το Βασιλικό Μουσείο του Ontario, μας δίνει μια λίστα των αρχαιολογικών ανασκαφών της Καναδικής αποστολής στην Dongola.

Στο έβδομο τμήμα του περιοδικού "Nubica", ο A. Lukaszewicz μας δίνει σύντομες πληροφορίες για το 3ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο των Κοπτικών Σπουδών που έγινε στη Warszawa το 1984. Μια σειρά από μελέτες αναφέρονται σε διάφορα αρχαιολογικά προβλήματα της Χριστιανικής Αιγύπτου και Νουβίας. Τα πρακτικά του Συνεδρίου θα εκδοθούν στη Βαρσοβία.

Σ' ένα άλλο άρθρο, ο Ibrahim Hamid Abdel Karim και ο Herman Bell αναλύουν κριτικά δύο ποιήματα στη γλώσσα "Dungulawi Nubia", ποιήματα που μιλάνε για αγάπη και για την ομορφιά της φύσης στον Νείλο και τα οποία ήταν προφορικές συνθέσεις απ' το Βόρειο Σουδάν. Κάθε ποίημα έχει αντιγραφεί και αναλυθεί με έμφαση στο μέτρο και στον τόνο. Τα δύο ποιήματα έχουν παρουσιαστεί έτσι ώστε να σκιαγραφείται η ποιητική ατμόσφαιρα που δημιουργούσε ο ποιητής.

Ο Tadeusz Dzierzykray-Rogalski στην αρχή του άρθρου του "Ισλαμικοί Τάφοι στο Faras" αναφέρει ότι: Το Faras είναι γνωστό σαν Κέντρο Χριστιανικής παράδοσης και πολιτισμού. Μετά όμως τον εξισλαμισμό της Νουβίας τον 14ο αιώνα, δεν γνωρίζουμε πολλά για την ιστορία του. Ο συγγραφέας αναφέρει επίσης ότι το Οχυρό του Faras πρέπει να έχει παίξει σημαντικό ρόλο κατά τη διάρκεια της επανάστασης του Μάχντι. Η Πολωνική Αποστολή ανακάλυψε πολλά ίχνη από σφαίρες πυροβολητών τα οποία αναμφίβολα ανήκουν στους πυροβολητές του Kitchener. Η φυσική ταρίχευση στην

Αίγυπτο και στο Βόρειο Σουδάν και η έλλειψη των εποχιακών βροχών βοήθησε στην καλύτερη διατήρηση των ανθρωπίνων σωμάτων απ' ό,τι η τεχνική ταρίχευση.

Ο Wlodzimierz Godlewski σ' ένα άρθρο με τίτλο "Η θέση της σταυροειδούς εκκλησίας στην Αρχαία Dongola. Η κτιριακή εξέλιξη απ' τον 6ο-16ο αιώνα". Μετά από 20 ανασκαφές στην Αρχαία Dongola, είναι τώρα δυνατόν να προσπαθήσουμε έναν κατά προσέγγιση εντοπισμό της θέσης της εκκλησίας στην πρωτεύουσα της Νουβίας.

Η θέση της σταυροειδούς εκκλησίας βρίσκεται στη βόρεια πλευρά ενός μικρού λόφου στον οποίο πιθανά έχει εντοπιστεί το παλιό τμήμα της πόλης, το οποίο στις αρχές της Χριστιανικής περιόδου στη Makuria ήταν ένα είδος ακρόπολης πολύ πιθανά περιβαλλόμενο από τείχη. Τα ευρήματα που ανακαλύφθηκαν φώτισαν μερικά σκοτεινά σημεία στην ιστορία της Dongola στην περίοδο από τον 6ο-16ο αιώνα.

Ο Tomasz Gorecki έγραψε το άρθρο "Αρχάγγελος και Άγιος Μερκούριος – Καινούργια εικονογραφική Ερμηνεία των Δύο Τοιχογραφιών του Καθεδρικού Ναού του Faras". Αυτές οι δύο τοιχογραφίες βρίσκονται στις δύο πλευρές της εισόδου κάθετα, είναι από την ίδια χρονική περίοδο και μοιάζουν τόσο στο στυλ ώστε πρέπει να είναι απ' τον ίδιο ζωγράφο. Ο συγγραφέας υποστηρίζει με σιγουριά ότι τα δύο έργα αποτελούν ένα θεματικό σύνολο με την έννοια ότι παρουσιάζουν δύο κομμάτια απ' το ίδιο θέμα που ονομάζεται "Ο μύθος του Αγίου Μερκουρίου". Οι τοιχογραφίες μας δείχνουν με σιγουριά ότι η έμπνευση προερχόταν από ένα Κοπτικό κείμενο πιθανά ακόμη και από ένα Βυζαντινό.

Ο Jaroslaw Lewczuk συνεχίζει με το άρθρο "Μελέτες πάνω στην Εικονογραφία της Thoueris στην Τέχνη του Βασιλείου του Kush". Οι παραστάσεις της θεάς Thoueris προέρχονταν απ' την Αιγυπτιακή Εικονογραφία. Στην Kush εμφανίζονται κατά τη διάρκεια της Δυναστείας XXV. Η θέση της θεάς Thoueris είναι δευτερεύουσα ανάμεσα στους κύριους κουστικούς θεούς της επίσημης θρησκείας και όμως κατέχει μια σημαντική θέση στη λαϊκή πίστη.

Η Elzieta Prominska στο άρθρο της "Ανθρωπολογική Έρευνα στο Kadero (Sudan)" μας πληροφορεί ότι οι γενικές συνθήκες της ζωής κατά την περίοδο του Νεολιθικού Πληθυσμού ήταν σχετικά καλές, καλύτερες απ' ό,τι στη μεταγενέστερη περίοδο στη Νουβία. Οι τάφοι απ' τα τέλη των Μεροϊτικών χρόνων δίνουν μια εικόνα χειροτέρων συνθηκών ζωής από εκείνων του Τοπικού Νεολιθικού Group.

Περισσότερα ευρήματα και ανθρωπολογικά υλικά θα μπορούσαν να βοηθήσουν στην εξήγηση της πληθυσμιακής, δημογραφικής και φυλετικής ιστορίας του Σουδάν.

Το περιοδικό "Nubica" προωθεί σημαντικά τις Αιθιοπικές, Μεροϊκές και Νουβικές Σπουδές.

GAMAL AL-TAHIR
Πανεπιστήμιο Ιωαννίνων

Taxiarchis G. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen, Ein Beitrag zur Byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur Lateinischen Eroberung* (Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 1988).

Dr. Kollias has written a unique book which fills a serious gap in our knowledge of medieval arms and armour. The important role played by Byzantium in the history of military technology has long been recognized, both as an originator of new developments and as a channel through which Central Asian and Middle Eastern military technology spread into western Europe. Yet, until the publication of this book, very little was published in a form available to the general public. Nor had a modern and serious overview of the subject been published.

The entire Byzantine period is dealth with, from the fall of the Western Roman Empire to the Palaeolog period. While the earlier centuries might be the most important from the point of view of Byzantium's impact on the history of arms and armour, this book appears to be unique in also dealing with the later centuries when Byzantine armies were first under western European and then strongly Turkish military influence.

The subject is divided into basic types of weapon and armour which are then dealt with in a chronological manner. The written evidence is presented clearly and with excellent bibliographical references while there is also a comprehensive bibliography of both primary and secondary sources. If any criticism can be levelled at this excellent book it perhaps concerns the illustrations, of which there are sixty-four black and white photographs and six line drawings. Additional line-drawings would have been welcome, but their absence probably reflects the limitations imposed by the format and price of this otherwise fine book.

DAVID NICOLLE

***WITOLD WITAKOWSKI,* The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysios of Tel-Maḥré. A study in the History of Historiography *(Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 9),* Upsala 1987.**

Η επαφή μου με τη διδακτορική διατριβή του W. Witakowski (Τμήμα Ασιατικών και Αφρικανικών Γλωσσών του Πανεπιστημίου της Ουψάλας) προέκυψε από το ενδιαφέρον για ορισμένα σημεία του Χρονικού του Ψευδο-Διονυσίου (ΨΔ), που έχουν σχέση με τον εκχριστιανισμό της Αιθιοπίας και είναι αποσπάσματα του δευτέρου μέρους της Εκκλησιαστικής Ιστορίας του Ιωάννου Εφέσου, το οποίο έχει χαθεί*.

Παρά τη συγκεκριμένη αυτή αφορμή και τα τρία περίπου χρόνια που πέρασαν από τη δημοσίευση του έργου, η μελέτη του δεν αφήνει αμφιβολία για το ότι είναι προϊόν εμβριθούς ερεύνης και παρουσιάζει ενδιαφέρον, ίσως όχι μονάχα για όσους ασχολούνται με τα έργα της συριακής ιστοριογραφίας.

Το Χρονικό έχει σωθεί σ' ένα χειρόγραφο της Βατικανής Βιβλιοθήκης (αρ. κατ. Syr. 162), που είναι φθαρμένο και η αρχή του έχει χαθεί, χρονολογείται δε στον 9ο αι. (Witakowski, σ. 30). Η κατάσταση του χειρογράφου, κυρίως το ότι δεν έχει σωθεί η αρχή του Χρονικού, όπου μπορεί ν' αναφερόταν το όνομα του συγγραφέα, ήταν η αφετηρία να αποδοθεί η πατρότητά του στον Ιακωβίτη Πατριάρχη Διονύσιο του Tel-Maḥré 818-845), αρχικά από τον Simon Assemani και στη συνέχεια και από τον Αββά Jean-Baptiste Chabot, στην εισαγωγή της έκδοσής του του Χρονικού. Σήμερα, πλέον, είναι παραδεκτό ότι το Χρονικό γράφηκε στο μοναστήρι του Zuquin, κοντά στην Άμιδα (σημ. Diyarbakir, Τουρκία), από έναν άγνωστο μοναχό. Έτσι δικαιολογείται και η κρατούσα επωνυμία: Χρονικό του ΨΔ (παρουσίαση της επιχειρηματολογίας για το πρόσωπο του συγγραφέα και βιβλιογραφικές αναφορές, ό.π., σσ. 30-38).

Η επεξεργασία του Χρονικού από τον Witakowski παρουσιάζει ενδιαφέρον και πρωτοτυπία, γιατί, χωρίς να παραλείπει την κλασική προσέγγιση και την εξέταση της σχέσης του έργου με τις πηγές του (Ευσέβιος, Ιωάννης Εφέσου, Ψευδο-Ζαχαρίας Μυτιλήνης, Μαλάλας κ.ά.: ό.π. και κυρίως σσ. 124-136), επιχειρεί μια ευρύτερη ανάλυση με τα εργαλεία της σύγχρονης φιλολογικής έρευνας (σημειολογία, σημαντική), προσφέρει στοιχεία με κοινωνιολογικό ενδιαφέρον, γίνεται δε τελικά ένα έργο που εμβαθύνει σε πολλαπλές και ενδιαφέρουσες πτυχές, ενός ευρύτατου φάσματος ι-

στορικού προβληματισμού. Δυστυχώς, το γλωσσικό εμπόδιο δεν μου επιτρέπει επαφή με το πρωτότυπο του Χρονικού και αξιολόγηση του μεταφραστικού αποτελέσματος. Πάντως, θεωρώ χρήσιμο να επισημάνω ακόμη μερικά στοιχεία του βιβλίου του Witakowski.

Το πρώτο κεφάλαιο παρέχει χρήσιμα στοιχεία για το ιστορικό περιβάλλον της εποχής συγγραφής του Χρονικού, που είναι το τρίτο τέταρτο του 8ου αι. (τελευταία χρονολογημένη καταγραφή 775 μ.Χ., ό.π., σ. 39). Τα στοιχεία που παρέχονται, είναι διαφωτιστικά για τη θρησκευτική σύνθεση και την κοινωνική δομή της Συρίας κατά τους πρώτους αιώνες της Μουσουλμανικής κατάκτησης. Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση δίνεται στην ζωή και τη δράση της Ιακωβίτικης Εκκλησίας και της μοναστικής κοινότητας, αφού είναι, άλλωστε, και το περιβάαλον του συγγραφέα του Χρονικού (σσ. 39-58).

Το δεύτερο και το τρίτο κεφάλαιο αναλύουν τη φιλολογική και γραμματολογική διάσταση της Χρονογραφίας, κυρίως δε την παράδοση της Χριστιανικής Οικουμενικής Χρονογραφίας και τη μεταφύτευσή της στη συριακή, χριστιανική γραμματεία (το τρίτο κεφ. σσ. 76-89).

Με βάση τις αυτοβιογραφικές αναφορές επιχειρείται στη συνέχεια προσέγγιση του προσώπου του συγγραφέα (σσ. 90-102), ενώ η ανάλυση του περιεχομένου του Χρονικού, η οποία ακολουθεί, έχει ως στόχο την παρουσίαση της *"μετάιστοριογραφικής πλευράς ενός ιστοριογραφικού έργου"* (σ. 103), με ομολογουμένως ενδιαφέροντα προσανατολισμό, να δώσει απάντηση σε ερωτήματα όπως για ποιο πράγμα γράφει ο συγγραφέας, τι είδους πληροφορίες δίνει και πώς τις παρουσιάζει, τι υλικό θεωρεί αξιόλογο για να εντάξει στο έργο και να το διαιωνίσει κ.τ.λ.)· ερωτήματα τα οποία βρίσκουν απάντηση, σε μεγάλο βαθμό ικανοποιητική, βασισμένη σ' ενδιαφέρουσα αναλυτική σκέψη, με την ανάγνωση των επόμενων σελίδων (103-112).

Η μορφολογική ανάλυση και η έκθεση του χρονολογικού συστήματος του Χρονικού στις επόμενες σελίδες δίνουν απαραίτητες τεχνικές πληροφορίες (σσ. 113-122). Η αντιμετώπιση του ερωτήματος τι επεδίωκε ο Χρονογράφος, καταγράφοντας τα στοιχεία που διέσωσε και με τον τρόπο που προέκρινε, οδηγεί στην απάντηση ότι η Χρονογραφία του ΨΔ πρέπει να καταταγεί στην κατηγορία των έργων *"εφαρμοσμένης ιστοριογραφίας",* που αποσκοπούν σε ηθική διαπαιδαγώγηση (σ. 137). Το συμπέρασμα ίσως δείχνει αυτονόητο, πάντως ο W. αναπτύσσει αξιόλογες σκέψεις, αναζητώντας το στόχο του Χρονικού (σσ. 136-146).

Το πέμπτο κεφάλαιο (σσ. 147-169) αποτελεί ίσως το πιο σημαντικό τμήμα της έρευνας, όμως έχει ενδιαφέρον περισσότερο για ειδικούς στις ανατολικές γλώσσες, αφού βασίζεται σε σημειολογική ανάλυση (ο τίτλος: *"Pseudo-Dionysius' concept of history: a semantic approach")* των κύριων εννοιών της ιστοριογραφίας του ΨΔ.

Τα στοιχεία που προσδιορίζουν τη σύνθεση του Χρονικού είναι *"1) η προσωπικότητα του συγγραφέα, ιδιαίτερα η πρακτική του ικανότητα και πνευματική του στάση, 2) η χριστιανική κοσμοθεωρία (Weltanschauung:*

από τον ίδιο τον W. 3) η ιστοριογραφική παράδοση του συνεχίζει και 4) ο διδακτικός σκοπός του'' (σ. 170).

Σίγουρα, το Χρονικό του ΨΔ δεν μπορεί να διεκδικήσει ιδιαίτερη αξία ως ιστορική πηγή. Άλλωστε, η ιστορική έρευνα του προηγούμενου αι. και των αρχών του αι. μας γενικά το παραθεωρούσε. Όμως, έχει ένα τμήμα αναμφισβήτητα χρήσιμο, που περιλαμβάνει πληροφορίες για γεγονότα σύγχρονα με την ζωή του συγγραφέα. Αυτό το κομμάτι δεν είναι μάλιστα διόλου ευκαταφρόνητο και αντιστοιχεί στο ένα τρίτο του έργου (σ. 144). Αυτό, είναι, μεταξύ άλλων, που κάνει τον W. να παρατηρήσει ότι το έργο χαρακτηρίζεται από *''ισχυρό παροντισμό''* (strong presentism, σ. 170).

Αντίθετα, η ανάλυση του W. βασίζεται σε σύγχρονη επιστημονική μεθοδολογία, καταλήγει σε ενδιαφέροντα συμπεράσματα, εκτίθεται με εύληπτο και ελκυστικό ύφος και παρουσιάζεται σ' ένα επιμελημένο τόμο της σειράς *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia,* που συμπληρώνουν χρήσιμα ευρετήρια**.

Βιέννη, Σεπτέμβριος 1990

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ Γ. ΛΕΤΣΙΟΣ

* Άρθρο μου: Die äthiopisch-himyaritischen Kriege des 6. Jahrhunderts und die Christianisierung Äthiopiens (υπό εκτύπωση, JÖB 40 (1990).

** Ως curiosum ας καταγραφεί η ανακολουθία στη γραφή του ονόματος του S.P. Brock στη σ. 38 (P. Brock στο κείμενο, S. Brock. σημ. 7) και S.P. Brock στη βιβλιογραφία σ. 17). Βεβαίως, δεν είχα την πρόθεση και τη δυνατότητα να ασχοληθώ με παροράματα. Άλλωστε, ο συγγραφέας προτάσσει μια σελίδα corrigenda που αφορούν, κυρίως, συριακές λέξεις. Επιγραμματική παρουσίαση του βιβλίου από τον A. Hohlweg, BZ 80 (1987), 478.